

UNIVERSITY OF OSLO
Department of Linguistics
and Scandinavian Studies

**V2, V3, V4 (and
maybe even more)**

The syntax of questions
in the Rogaland dialects
of Norwegian

Master's thesis in
linguistics

Stig Rognes

May 2011



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of Norwegian

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V2, V3, V4 (and maybe even more) : The syntax of questions in the Rogaland dialects of Norwegian

Thesis submitted to the Department of Linguistics and Scandinavian Studies at the University of Oslo in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts in Linguistics. This thesis is worth 60 ECTS credits.

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Acknowledgments

È di cattivo gusto ringraziare il relatore. Se vi ha aiutato ha fatto solo il suo dovere.

(Eco 1977, p. 198)

The above quotation is drawn from Umberto Eco's classic book for students on how to write academic theses. It is taken from the section devoted to how to write acknowledgments, and says that "it is a sign of bad taste to thank one's supervisor. If he/she has helped you, he/she has only done his/her duty."

Nevertheless, I'll take my chances, despite Eco's warning: Thanks a lot to my supervisor, Janne Bondi Johannessen. I always appreciated her ability to say so much about so little. I have also appreciated her great wit, encouraging skills, and not least, her patience. All in all I think it's fair to say that she's been helpful beyond her call of duty.

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Endless thanks go to my mother and father, Agnete and Knut, for their everlasting love and support along my long and winding educational road. Now, finally.

Blindern, Oslo

S.R.

May 2011

List of abbreviations

AdvP	Adverb Phrase
ART	Article
AP	Articulatory-Perceptual
BBC	Big Brother Corpus
CI	Conceptual-Intentional
CTH	Clausal Typing Hypothesis
DEF	Definite
DEM	Demonstrative
DP	Determiner Phrase
EPP	Extended Projection Principle
FL	Faculty of Language
GEN	Genitive
H&P	Holmberg and Platzack (1995)
INF	Infinitive
IP	Inflection Phrase
LF	Logical Form
LOC	Locative particle

MP	Minimalist Program
NDC	Nordic Dialect Corpus
NEG	Negation
NOC	NoTa-Oslo Corpus
NorDiaSyn	Norwegian Dialect Syntax
NP	Noun Phrase
NSJD	Nordic Syntactic Judgment Database
P&T	Pesetsky and Torrego (2001)
PF	Phonetic Form
PL	Plural
PP	Preposition Phrase
REL	Relative complementizer
S-adverb	Sentence adverb
ScanDiaSyn	Scandinavian Dialect Syntax
SUBJ	Subject
TP	Tense Phrase
V2	Verb second
V3	Verb third
V4	Verb fourth
V _{fin}	Finite verb
VP	Verb Phrase
W&V	Westergaard and Vangsnes (2005)

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Chapter 1

Introduction

1.1 The object of study

The object of study in this thesis is the dialects spoken in Rogaland county in the southwestern part of Norway, primarily from a synchronic perspective: I study the language as it is spoken today. The study undertaken here can be classified as micro-comparative (to use a term from Hellan and Christensen 1986), as it focuses on typologically and genetically closely related languages (i.e. dialects). Ultimately, the object of study is the internalized grammar of the speakers of these dialects (i.e. their I-language, in Chomsky's 1986b terms). Naturally, their I-language is not directly observable, and the language can thus only be studied through the utterances these speakers produce or give their acceptability judgments of (i.e. through their E-language, in Chomsky's 1986b terms).

More specifically, this thesis is about the syntax of questions in the dialects spoken in Rogaland. That is, the order in which the speakers of these dialects put their words when asking questions.¹ It is concerned with two types of questions:

¹The term *interrogative* is often used when referring to the syntactic sentence type that expresses a question, in the same way as *declarative* is used to refer to the sentence type that expresses statements. Although the terms *interrogative* and *question* are often used interchangeably, *question* is strictly speaking a pragmatic category to which utterances of both interrogatives and declaratives can belong (since a declarative sentence can sometimes be used as a question). That is, interrogatives and declaratives are sentence *forms*, while questions and statements are sentence *functions*. Although I am aware of this contrast, I will still, for the sake of familiarity, use the term 'question' throughout when referring to an interrogative sentence.

wh-questions (also known as constituent questions) and *yes/no*-questions (also known as polar questions). With respect to word order, the Rogaland dialects stand out from other Norwegian dialects in both types.

Wh-questions with V3 word order are in no way exclusive to Rogaland, neither are they rare on a national basis. Their existence is widespread, in fact the only dialects of Norwegian in which they are not allowed in any form seem to be the ones spoken in central parts of Eastern Norway around Oslo. Importantly, they are also disallowed in the written standards Bokmål and Nynorsk.

What is exclusive to the dialects spoken in Rogaland with respect to *wh*-questions, however, is the hitherto undescribed phenomenon that I introduce in chapter 5, which I have named “the *Wh+nå/då* construction”. In this construction the *wh*-phrase is immediately followed by the sentence adverbs *nå* ‘now’ or *då* ‘then’, yielding (at least) V4 word order. This construction can also be combined with the negation *ikke* ‘not’ and other adverbs (e.g. *egentlig* ‘really’), resulting in V5 and V6 word order (as implicitly referred to in the title of the thesis). Consider the made-up dialogue in (1), in which speaker B has several options when replying to speaker A’s statements.

- (1) A: *Eg e usikker på hvem eg ska invitera te bryllupet.*
 I am unsure on who I shall invite-INF to wedding-DEF
Eg tror eg har ombestemt meg.
 I think I have re-decided me
 ‘I’m not sure who to invite to the wedding. I think I’ve changed my mind.’
- B: *Kem vil du invitera?*
 who want you invite-INF
 ‘Who do you want to invite?’ (V2)
- B: *Kem du vil invitera?*
 who you want invite-INF
 ‘Who do you want to invite?’ (V3)
- B: *Kem nå du vil invitera?*
 who now you want invite-INF
 ‘Who do you want to invite now?’ (V4)
- B: *Kem nå du ikke vil invitera?*
 who now you NEG want invite-INF

‘Who do you not want to invite now?’ (V5)

B: *Kem nå du egentlig ikkje vil invitera?*
 who now you really NEG want invite-INF

‘Who do you not want to invite now, really?’ (V6)

Importantly, only the V2 alternative is allowed in Standard Norwegian (i.e. the written standards Bokmål and Nynorsk as well as the dialects spoken in Eastern Norway in and around the capital Oslo), and only the V3 alternative is allowed in the wide range of other Norwegian dialects that exhibit non-V2 in *wh*-questions. The V4, V5 and V6 alternatives—which are examples of the *Wh+nå/då* construction—are exclusive to the Rogaland dialects.

In contrast to *wh*-questions with V3 word order, which are found in many dialects, *yes/no*-questions with V3 word order are found only in the Rogaland dialects. Such questions are introduced by the element *om* and are thus (following Vangsnes 1996) called *om*-questions. An example is given in (2).

- (2) *Om me kan ha is?*
 whether we can have ice
 ‘Can we have ice cream?’

My goal here, however, is not merely to prove that questions with non-V2 word order exist in the Rogaland dialects—their existence is indisputable—but also to analyze them within the generative framework. Thus, my purpose in this thesis is twofold.

On the descriptive side, I wish to (i) show that the Rogaland dialects allow non-V2 with all types of *wh*-phrases (both simple and complex ones) in all types of *wh*-questions (both subject and non-subject ones); (ii) present empirical evidence for the *Wh+nå/då* construction; and (iii) illustrate word order variation in *om*-questions. Importantly, many of these word orders are not found in the linguistic literature on Norwegian.

On the theoretical side, I wish to add to the already solid block of interesting and inspiring literature on the syntax of questions in Norwegian. In some respects, my analyses differ from previous works. Among other things, I argue for (i) an analysis of the *Wh+nå/då* construction as an elliptical cleft; (ii) an analysis of *om*-questions in which *om* is an XP in Spec-CP and the C⁰ position is empty;

and (iii) the observed non-V2 word orders as consequences of a single theoretical assumption, namely that the C^0 head is endowed with the features [uQ (+EPP)], [uT (−EPP)] (following Pesetsky and Torrego 2001) in both *wh*-questions and *om*-questions.

1.2 Research questions

The main aim of this thesis is to describe and analyze questions with non-V2 word order in the Rogaland dialects of Norwegian, and to compare non-V2 questions with V2 questions from a theoretical perspective. More specifically, I would like to raise and answer a number of “smaller” questions, which are listed below. Some have a mainly descriptive character (i–iv), and others a more theoretical one (v–x).

- (i) What makes the Rogaland dialects stand out from other Norwegian dialects with respect to word order in *wh*- and *yes/no*-questions?
- (ii) What is the extent of non-V2 in *wh*-questions in the Rogaland dialects?
- (iii) To what extent is the word order in *wh*-questions determined by the complexity of the *wh*-phrase?
- (iv) What is the distribution of *om*-questions in the Rogaland dialects?
- (v) What underlies the inversion/non-inversion asymmetry observed in the *Wh+nå/då* construction, i.e., why do *wh*-questions introduced by *Wh+nå/då* always have (at least) V4 order, and never V3?
- (vi) Why are only *nå* ‘now’ and *då* ‘then’ found in the *Wh+nå/då* construction?
- (vii) Are main clause *om*-questions “really” embedded structures?
- (viii) Why are *om*-questions never found with V2 word order, i.e., why is there no V^0 -to- C^0 movement in *om*-questions?
- (ix) Why does the *Om+då* construction always have V3 word order, while the *Wh+nå/då* construction always has (at least) V4?

- (x) What, if anything, do non-V2 *wh*-questions and *om*-questions have in common, syntactically?

1.3 Outline

The thesis is organized as follows. In chapter 2, “Syntactic theory and V2”, I start off with a presentation of the theoretical framework adopted in the thesis (Chomsky’s Minimalist Program). I then describe the verb-second (V2) phenomenon and different aspects of the V2 requirement in Norwegian, a central notion that creates a backdrop to which much of the contents in the succeeding chapters will contrast. A theoretical account of V2 is given.

Chapter 3 is titled “Previous research on the syntax of questions in Norwegian”. Focusing on works that concern non-V2 phenomena and the Rogaland dialects, I give a short overview of previous research in the field of Norwegian question syntax—the state of the art. For the sake of clarity, it is divided in two main halves: *wh*-questions and *om*-questions. This division is reflected in chapters 5 and 6, which are concerned with constituent questions and polar questions, respectively.

In Chapter 4, “Methods and material”, I present the different types of data that make up the empirical basis of the subsequent chapters, and the various methods used to collect them. I discuss the use of language corpora, Web searches, and acceptability judgments in addition to introspection, and underscore the importance of converging evidence from different data sources.

In chapter 5, “Non-V2 in the Rogaland dialects: *wh*-questions”, I present new data demonstrating that the Rogaland dialects allow non-V2 with both simple and complex *wh*-phrases in both subject and non-subject *wh*-questions. I further present and analyze the hitherto undescribed word order phenomenon that I call “the *Wh+nå/då* construction”, in which the *wh*-phrase is immediately followed by the adverbs *nå* ‘now’ or *då* ‘then’, yielding V4 word order.

Chapter 6, “Non-V2 in the Rogaland dialects: *om*-questions”, is concerned with *om*-questions, a special type of *yes/no*-questions that always have V3 word order. Based on new data I suggest an analysis that differ from previous ones in taking *om* to be a phrase in specifier position. I also introduce and analyze an unexpected and previously unseen construction similar to the one presented in chapter 5, in

which *om*, which is normally only followed by the subject, is followed by the adverb *då* ‘then’.

Chapter 7 sums up the thesis.

Chapter 2

Syntactic theory and V2

2.1 Introduction

This chapter consists of three main sections. First, in 2.2, I will outline the theoretical framework within which the rest of the thesis is written. Then, in 2.3, which has an exclusively descriptive character, I will present the V2 requirement in Norwegian and show what word orders are allowed in different clauses. Lastly, in 2.4, I will combine the two previous sections and apply the theoretical tools presented in 2.2 on the V2 requirement, and see how V2 word order is accounted for from a theoretical perspective.

2.2 Theoretical framework

The theoretical framework adopted in this thesis is that of generative grammar, more specifically the Minimalist Program (henceforth MP), as first presented in Chomsky (1993, 1995), and later further developed in numerous works by many researchers including Chomsky himself (e.g. Chomsky 2000, 2001, 2004, 2005, 2007, 2008).

2.2.1 Some general minimalist assumptions

Within the MP, grammar is taken to be a component of the human mind/brain, a component often called the faculty of language (FL), which is separate from and

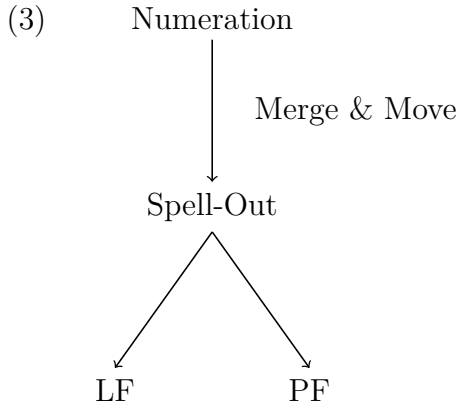
independent of other cognitive components of the mind/brain. FL consists of a lexicon (containing lexical items with idiosyncratic properties in form of formal features) and a computational system, with the latter operating on units specified by the former.

Simply stated, the role of grammar is to connect form and meaning. In minimalist terms, its role is to satisfy what in the MP are called “interface conditions,” which are imposed by “performance systems.” FL, the linguistic system, interacts and interfaces with two such performance systems: sensorimotor systems and systems of thought, also called the articulatory-perceptual (AP) system and the conceptual-intentional (CI) system, respectively. As Chomsky (2000, p. 94) explains, in a simplified manner, FL must meet these interface conditions because “[o]ther systems of the mind/brain have to be able to access expressions generated by states of FL ((I-)languages), to ‘read’ them and use them as ‘instructions’ for thought and action.”

I will assume a derivational model of grammar with an architecture as sketched in (3) on the facing page. Through the course of the derivation the computational system reaches two distinct interface levels: Phonetic Form (PF) and Logical Form (LF). The object generated at PF is what is “read” by the AP system, and the object generated at LF what is “read” by the CI system. In short, PF can be said to represent the “sound side” of a linguistic expression, and LF the “meaning side.”

Starting from the numeration—a set of lexical items drawn from the lexicon that forms the basis for the derivation—the computational system successively applies the operation Merge (called “External Merge” in Chomsky 2008), which takes two lexical items $\{X\}$ and $\{Y\}$, combining them into a syntactic object $\{X, Y\}$. Merge takes either lexical items or syntactic objects (i.e. the output of previous operations) as its inputs, and can be applied recursively an infinite amount of times, forming successively larger syntactic objects, which means that there is in principle no limit as to the length of a sentence. However, when the numeration is exhausted, Merge can no longer take place, as there are no lexical items left to merge.

Another basic operation applied by the computational system is Move (called “Internal Merge” in Chomsky 2008). In the MP, movement operations are driven by the need to check (and delete) so-called uninterpretable features. Uninterpretable features are features of lexical items that cannot be read by other performance



systems—and hence disallowed at the interfaces. Interpretable features, on the other hand, carry “instructions” for the AP and CI systems, and play a part in determining pronunciation and semantic interpretation. If the objects generated by the computational system by the end of the derivation meet the interface conditions at both PF and LF, the derivation converges. If not, it crashes. This follows from the principle of Full Interpretation (Chomsky 1995), which requires that the representations at the interfaces do not contain any uninterpretable features.

As seen in (3), at a certain point in the derivation the operation Spell-Out is applied. At Spell-Out, the representation is split into two objects, of which one is “sent off” to PF where it interfaces with the AP system. After Spell-Out, the PF part is no longer available to any overt syntactic operations (i.e. Merge, Move, or selection of lexical entries). The derivation proceeds toward the level of LF, where the remaining object interfaces with the CI system. Between Spell-Out and LF only covert operations may apply, i.e. operations that have no impact on phonological realization (so-called covert syntax, e.g. covert *wh*-movement, pure feature movement, and so forth). Such operations, which alter the LF representation only, will not play any part in my thesis, however.

Related to movement and the deletion of uninterpretable features mentioned above is the economy condition known as Last Resort. In Hornstein et al. (2005) it is formulated as follows:

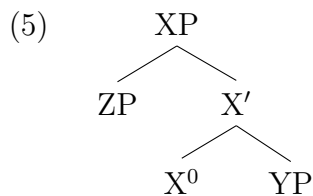
(4) *Last resort*

A movement operation is licensed only if it allows the elimination of uninterpretable formal features. (Hornstein et al. 2005, p. 293)

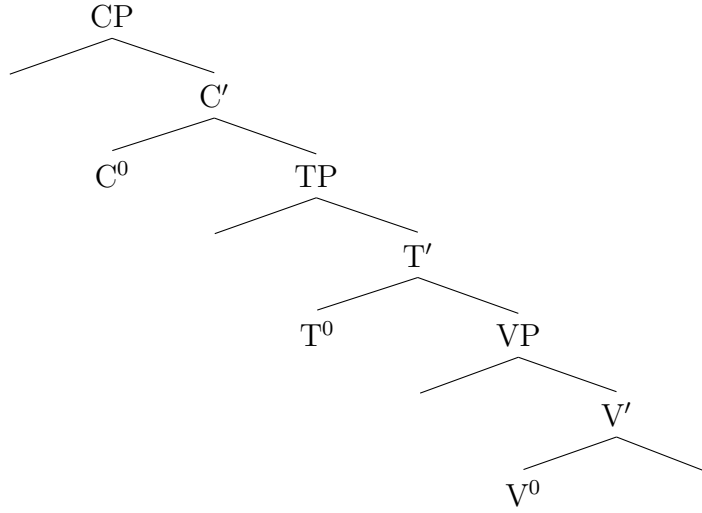
This is an important principle, because it imposes a restriction on movement. Note that (4) does not imply that uninterpretable features *force* overt movement, as uninterpretable features can also be eliminated by Merge (or by the operation Agree in some versions of the theory, i.e. deletion of uninterpretable features neither by merger nor movement, cf. Chomsky 2000, 2001). What (4) expresses is that Move cannot apply freely, i.e. movement is not optional.

2.2.2 Tree structure

I will make the standard assumption that syntactic objects are organized in a hierarchical tree structure with binary branching, represented in the form of an X-bar schema in which every phrase XP is built up from a lexical head X^0 that projects up to the bar level X' and further up to the phrase level XP, yielding the structure in (5). As shown in (5), the projection of the head X^0 is modified by a specifier (ZP) and a complement (YP). The position occupied by the specifier is referred to as Spec-XP, while the position of the complement is called Comp-XP.



Every clause consists of at least three projections, namely—from bottom to top—a verb phrase (VP), a tense phrase (TP) (also called inflectional phrase (IP), I will not make any distinctions between TP and IP), and a complementizer phrase (CP). Many syntacticians consider the VP, TP, and CP to be “layers”, each consisting of multiple projections of (functional) heads corresponding to specific morphosyntactic features, most famously the split-IP of Pollock (1989) and the split-CP of Rizzi (1997), and, e.g. Larson (1988) and Hale and Keyser (1993) with respect to the VP layer. For the present purposes, however, the simplest forms of the VP and the TP layer will suffice. That is, I will keep the structural representation to a

(6) *The basic structure of the clause*

minimum, and employ only single VP and TP projections throughout for the sake of simplicity. I will return to the composition of the CP layer in 2.2.3 below. For now, let us assume the backbone of clausal structure illustrated in (6).

VP is the projection of the lexical verb in V^0 , TP the projection of the functional tense head T^0 , and CP the projection of a complementizer in C^0 (in subordinate clauses) or, in main clauses, the projection of the functional head responsible for determining clause type (declarative, interrogative, etc.).

Roughly, one can say that the VP has to do with the argument structure of the verb and assignment of theta-roles, the TP with inflection of the verb, checking of phi-features (i.e. person, number, gender), and assignment of case, while the CP, to use Rizzi's (1997, p. 283) words, is "the interface between a propositional content (expressed by the IP) and the superordinate structure (a higher clause or, possibly, the articulation of discourse, if we consider a root clause)."

The CP plays a central role in this thesis, for two reasons: (i) It is involved in determining whether a sentence is interpreted as a question, and (ii) it is the locus of the V2 phenomenon, as V2 is standardly assumed to involve movement of the finite verb to the C^0 position (and subsequent fronting of an XP to Spec-CP). In the next section, I will look further into the connection between clause type and the CP. I will return to the connection between the C-system and V2 in 2.4.

2.2.3 CP, question features, and clause type

All human languages distinguish between declarative, imperative, and interrogative sentences. That is, all languages have questions. But what, if anything, distinguishes questions syntactically? How are they formally different from, say, assertions? What is it that causes an utterance to be interpreted as a question? I will try to address these questions in the following.

The CP is where so-called clause typing takes place. I will adopt the clausal typing hypothesis (CTH) of Cheng (1991), according to which every clause must be “typed” as either declarative, interrogative, etc. The CTH is stated as follows:

(7) *The clausal typing hypothesis* (Cheng 1991, p. 29)

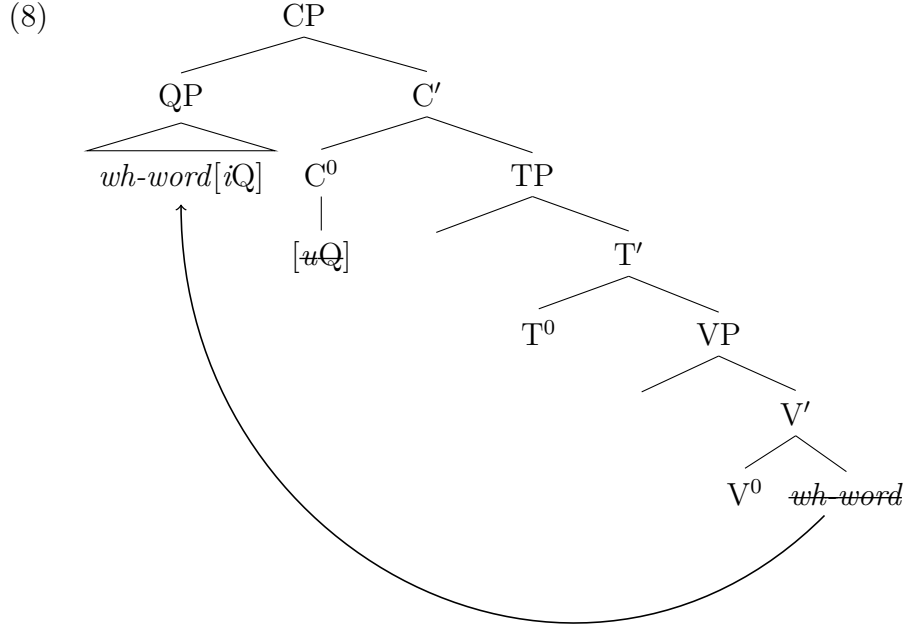
Every clause needs to be typed. In the case of typing a *wh*-question, either a *wh*-particle in C^0 is used or else fronting of a *wh*-word to the Spec of C^0 is used, thereby typing a clause through C^0 by Spec-head agreement.

Cheng (1991, chapter 2) argues that in languages that have question particles (including both *yes/no*- and *wh*-particles), clauses are typed by these particles. She further proposes that so-called in-situ languages (i.e. languages without overt *wh*-movement) have *wh*-particles, and that languages with such typing particles necessarily have *wh*-words in-situ. Importantly, typing particles are taken to be located in C^0 . In languages that lack these question particles, however, clauses are typed by overt *wh*-movement to Spec-CP and through Spec-head agreement between C^0 and its specifier.

Following Chomsky (2000, p. 128), I will take C^0 in interrogative clauses to contain an uninterpretable question feature [*uQ*]. By the principle of Full Interpretation, this feature must be deleted by the end of the derivation for the derivation to converge. In a *wh*-question, [*uQ*] on C^0 triggers raising of the *wh*-phrase, which contains a matching, interpretable question feature [*iQ*], from the Spec or Comp of VP (where it was first merged, if it is a *wh*-object) to Spec-CP, leaving an unpronounced copy (indicated by ~~strike through~~) in its initial position.¹

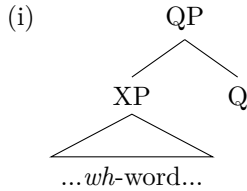
¹The question feature [Q] is often called a *wh*-feature [Wh]. I believe that this is—at least as long as we are not operating with more than one type of feature involved in clause typing and *wh*-movement—only a matter of choice of notation, and will use [Q] throughout, in both *wh*- and *yes/no*-questions. Chomsky (1995, p. 289ff) refers to the feature carried by *wh*-elements as F_Q .

When $[iQ]$ enters Spec-CP, $[uQ]$ on C^0 is deleted by Spec-head agreement (i.e. the *wh*-phrase bearing $[iQ]$ moves into a local configuration with C^0 —the *checking domain* of C^0 in Chomsky’s 1995 terms—in which feature checking/deletion can take place). This process is shown in (8).²



In a standard *yes/no*-question like (9) below, in which there is no overt movement to Spec-CP, $[uQ]$ on C is believed to be deleted by merger of a phonologically null

²I will follow Cable (2010) with respect to the labeling of the phrase containing the *wh*-word, and, for the sake of simplicity, simply label it QP in all tree structures, irrespective of whether it contains a *wh*-adverb, *wh*-pronoun, etc. Cable suggests the following internal structure of the QP (with the Q-element being phonologically null in Norwegian):

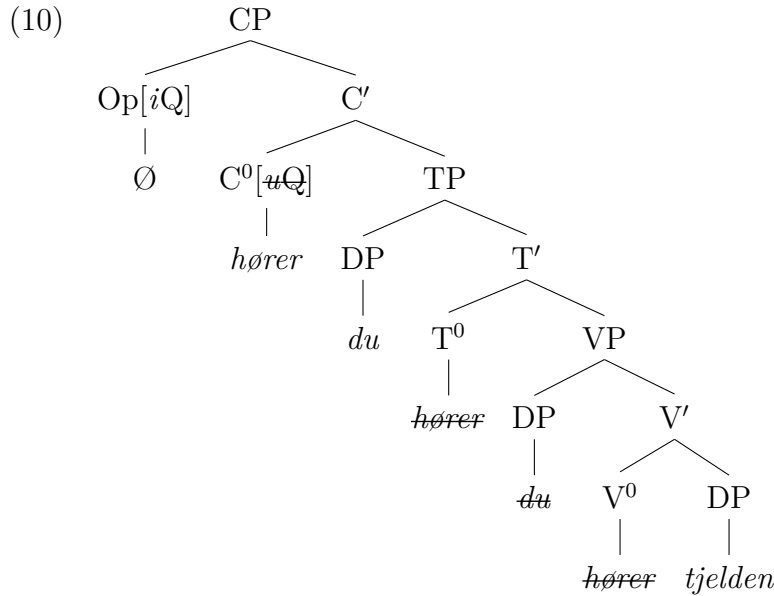


This line of reasoning appears similar to the idea of separating *wh*-movement from clause typing, i.e. that the *wh*-word *itself* is not responsible for clause typing, as suggested by Aboh and Pfau (2010) and Aboh (2010). A related idea is found in Cheng and Rooryck (2000), in which it is argued that an “intonation morpheme” can check $[uQ]$ on C, and thus leave the *wh*-phrase in situ.

question operator in Spec-CP (following, e.g., Adger 2003; Platzack 1998; Radford 2004).

- (9) *Hører du tjelden?*
 hear you oystercatcher-DEF
 ‘Do you hear the oystercatcher?’

The idea of an abstract, silent Q element occupying the sentence-initial position in *yes/no*-questions goes back at least to Katz and Postal (1964) and Baker (1970), who suggest that, in present-day English, this element is spelled out as *whether* in embedded contexts. Note that from this approach, it follows that verb movement to C^0 has nothing to do with deleting the question feature on C. That is, verb movement is not involved in clause typing.³ The derivation leading to the deletion of $[uQ]$ on C in (9) then looks like (10) (in which all features except $[Q]$ are suppressed).



Rizzi (1997) suggests that the CP be split into a series of projections functional heads, each related to different information-structurally properties. He proposes the following articulated CP:

³This seems to be in line with Chomsky (1995), who in a footnote points out that “it is not the raising of I that satisfies the strong feature of Q; rather, that has some different origin here, possibly within the phonological component” (p. 386, n.64). Chomsky’s “I” translates to T, and “the strong feature of Q” to $[uQ]$ on C, in my account.

(11) CP = [ForceP [TopicP [FocusP [TopicP [FinitenessP]]]]] (Rizzi 1997)

This split-CP model is a part of what is known as *cartography*, an approach to syntactic structure that sets out to draw a detailed “map” of different clausal domains. The cartographic approach has been fruitful and led to a series of works on different portions of the clause in many languages (see, e.g., the collections in Rizzi 2004 and Benincà and Munaro 2010 for the left periphery of the clause). In addition to the phrases shown in (11) above, Rizzi (2001) argues for a separate InterrogativeP hosting interrogative complementizers. Holmberg (2003) argues for a PolarityP present in polar questions, and Westergaard (2009) goes on to further split the ForceP into five different projections, each representing illocutionary force, i.e. different clause types: Decl(arative)P, Int(errogative)P, Pol(arity)P, Excl(amative)P, and Imp(erative)P. All in all, the projections are many, but a general agreement as to their existence and internal order—which is claimed to be fixed—seems hard to find. (See Craenenbroeck 2009 for a collection of works discussing problems with the cartographic framework.)

Thus, in the interest of keeping my analysis as minimal as possible, and in order not to get lost in the left periphery, I will refrain from applying a split-CP, and simply adhere to the traditional, unsplit CP, as shown in (6) above. This does not mean that I reject the cartographic approach to syntactic structure, but for the present purposes, also the simplest form of the CP will suffice.

2.3 The V2 requirement in Norwegian

Norwegian is generally considered a V2 language (Faarlund et al. 1997, Holmberg and Platzack 1995, Vikner 1995).⁴ This means that in Norwegian, the finite verb appears in the second position in all main clauses, whatever the first constituent. This “V2 requirement” holds for both declarative and interrogative sentences.⁵ In

⁴Although related, V2 must not be confused with SVO word order. Norwegian has underlying SVO word order in both main and embedded clauses, while e.g. Dutch and German are underlyingly SVO in main clauses and SOV in embedded clauses. Neither of the languages, however, have V2 in embedded clauses.

⁵There are some well-known exceptions. In addition to non-V2 in questions—the core matter of this thesis—which are allowed only in some of the Norwegian dialects, there are also some violations of the V2 requirement that are common (and grammatical) in most, if not all, varieties

constituent questions, V2 is manifested through *wh*-movement of the *wh*-phrase to the left of the finite verb. In standard polar questions the finite verb actually appears sentence-initially, but they are nevertheless similar to constructions with V2 word order in the sense that the verb is located in C^0 in both types (as long as V2 is taken to involve V^0 -to- C^0 movement, which is the approach taken here, see subsection 2.4). That is, one might argue that V2 is attested through subject-verb inversion in verb-initial main clause *yes/no*-questions. I will give a description of the different word order restrictions in declaratives, *wh*-questions, and *yes/no*-questions in 2.3.1, 2.3.2, and 2.3.3, respectively.

Norwegian is a V2 language of the so-called asymmetric type (along with Dutch, German, and the other Mainland Scandinavian languages), exhibiting V2 in main clauses only, in contrast to languages with symmetric V2 (Yiddish and the Insular Scandinavian languages), which exhibit V2 in both main and embedded clauses (see, e.g., Holmberg 2010; Vikner 1995, chapter 4). The main/embedded clause asymmetry in Norwegian will be described in 2.3.4.

of Norwegian. E.g. sentences introduced by the adverb *kanskje* ‘maybe’, sentences introduced by an adverb or a prepositional phrase followed by the element *så* ‘so’, and sentences introduced by a focus-sensitive adverb like *bare* ‘just’. These are shown in (i), (ii), and (iii) below. Exceptions of the type in (i) and (iii) are attested in written language, while (ii) is more typical of spoken language.

- (i) *Kanskje storspova kommer snart?*
 maybe curlew-DEF arrives soon
 ‘Maybe the curlew will arrive soon?’
- (ii) *Faktisk så tror jeg storspova er utrydningstruet.*
 actually so think I curlew-DEF is endangered
 ‘I actually think the curlew is endangered.’
- (iii) *Han bare stod der og måpte.*
 he just stood there and gaped
 ‘He just stood there and gaped.’

See Faarlund et al. (1997, p. 869) for more examples of non-V2 declaratives introduced by *kanskje* or *kan hende* ‘maybe’, and Nilsen (2003, chapter 3) for more of the type in (iii) and argumentation against a head movement analysis of V2. See also Eide and Sollid (to appear) for discussion of the type in (ii) and other instances of V3 in declaratives.

2.3.1 Declaratives

In declarative sentences in Norwegian the finite verb must follow the first constituent, regardless of whether it is the subject, as in (12a), a topicalized adverbial as in (12b), a topicalized object as in (12c), or any other kind of fronted constituent not exemplified here.

- (12) a. *Jeg hørte tjelden i går kveld.*
 I heard oystercatcher-DEF yesterday evening
 ‘I heard the oystercatcher last night.’
- b. *I går kveld hørte jeg tjelden.*
 yesterday evening heard I oystercatcher-DEF
 ‘Last night I heard the oystercatcher.’
- c. *Tjelden hørte jeg i går kveld.*
 oystercatcher-DEF heard I yesterday evening
 ‘The oystercatcher I heard last night.’

As shown in (13), only one constituent may appear before the finite verb, as non-V2 word order leads to ungrammaticality (only three out of many possible word orders are shown).

- (13) a. **Jeg i går kveld hørte tjelden.*
 I yesterday evening heard oystercatcher-DEF
 INTENDED: ‘I heard the oystercatcher last night.’
- b. **I går kveld jeg hørte tjelden.*
 yesterday evening I heard oystercatcher-DEF
 INTENDED: ‘Last night I heard the oystercatcher.’
- c. **Tjelden jeg hørte i går kveld.*
 oystercatcher-DEF I heard yesterday evening
 INTENDED: ‘The oystercatcher I heard last night.’

If any constituent other than the subject is topicalized, the subject must immediately follow the finite verb, as exemplified in 14.⁶

⁶There are exceptions, e.g. with the negation *ikke* ‘not’, which may appear in between:

- (i) *I går kveld hørte ikke JEG tjelden.*
 yesterday evening heard NEG I oystercatcher-DEF

- (14) a. **I går kveld hørte tjelden jeg.*
 yesterday evening heard oystercatcher-DEF I
 INTENDED: ‘Last night I heard the oystercatcher.’
- b. **Tjelden hørte i går kveld jeg.*
 oystercatcher-DEF heard yesterday evening I
 INTENDED: ‘The oystercatcher I heard last night.’

All of the above-mentioned restrictions on word order in declarative sentences apply to both Standard Norwegian and every dialect of Norwegian.⁷

2.3.2 *Wh*-questions

In constituent questions, V2 is manifested through fronting of the phrase containing the *wh*-word: The *wh*-phrase moves across the finite verb to the left edge of the clause (so-called *wh*-movement, cf. subsection 2.4.2). Examples of standard *wh*-questions with V2 word order are shown in (15). In (15a) a *wh*-object is fronted, in (15b) a *wh*-adverb, and in (15c) a *wh*-subject.⁸

- (15) a. *Hva slags fugl hørte du?*
 what kind bird heard you
 ‘What kind of bird did you hear?’
- b. *Når hørte du den?*
 when heard you it
 ‘When did you hear it?’
- c. *Hvem hørte den?*
 who heard it
 ‘Who heard it?’

In Standard Norwegian, the finite verb must immediately follow the *wh*-constituent in root (main clause) questions. This goes for both non-subject and subject *wh*-questions. Preverbal subjects cause ungrammaticality in *wh*-questions in which

‘Last night I didn’t hear the oystercatcher.’ (With contrastive stress on the subject.)

Such exceptions need not concern us here.

⁷By ‘Standard Norwegian’ I mean the written standards *Bokmål* and *Nynorsk* as well as the dialects spoken in Eastern Norway in and around the capital Oslo.

⁸The *wh*-adverb *når* ‘when’ used in example (15b) has the alternative form *hva tid*, *kor tid*, or *når tid* (literally ‘what time’, ‘where time’, and ‘when time’) in *Nynorsk* and most Norwegian dialects. See table 5.4 for a list of the different forms of *wh*-words in the Rogaland dialects.

the *wh*-constituent is not the subject of the clause, as shown in (16a,b). The element *som*, which follows the *wh*-constituent in embedded *wh*-subject questions (cf. subsection 2.3.4), cannot interfere between the subject and the verb in root questions, as illustrated in (16c). Note again that the judgments in (16) are based on Standard Norwegian only (we will see later that dialects differ with respect to acceptability of these sentences).

- (16) a. **Hva slags fugl du hørte?*
 what kind bird you heard
 INTENDED: ‘What kind of bird did you hear?’ (Standard Norwegian)
- b. **Når du hørte den?*
 when you heard it
 INTENDED: ‘When did you hear it?’ (Standard Norwegian)
- c. **Hvem som hørte den?*
 who REL heard it
 INTENDED: ‘Who heard it?’ (Standard Norwegian)

In questions with multiple *wh*-phrases, one moves to the front and the other remains *in situ*, preserving V2 word order, as in (17).

- (17) *Når på året kommer hvilke fugler?*
 when on year arrive which birds
 ‘What time of year do which birds arrive?’

Material may be *pied-piped* along with the *wh*-constituent to the front of the sentence. Consider the two examples in (18) below. In (18a) the locative particle *hen* is moved to the front along with the *wh*-word *hvor* ‘where’, whereas in (18b) it remains in its initial position.

- (18) a. *Hvor hen hørte du tjelden?*
 where LOC heard you oystercatcher-DEF
 ‘Where did you hear the oystercatcher?’
- b. *Hvor hørte du tjelden hen?*
 where heard you oystercatcher-DEF LOC
 ‘Where did you hear the oystercatcher?’

In both cases *hen* is generally assumed to be internal to the *wh*-phrase, hence (18a) is not a case of non-V2 (cf., e.g., Rice and Svenonius 1998).

2.3.3 *Yes/no-questions*

Standard, main clause polar questions have V1 word order: The finite verb is the first audible constituent. They are, however, akin to V2 constructions in the sense that the finite verb moves across the subject to the C⁰ position (through subject-verb inversion, or so-called T⁰-to-C⁰ movement, cf. subsection 2.4). An inverted *yes/no*-question is shown in (19).

- (19) *Hørte du vipa allerede i februar?*
 heard you lapwing-DEF already in February
 ‘Did you hear the lapwing already in February?’

Like in declarative sentences, no element can appear between the finite verb and the subject without causing ungrammaticality, as illustrated in (20) below.⁹

- (20) a. **Hørte vipa du allerede i februar?*
 heard lapwing-DEF you already in February
 INTENDED: ‘Did you hear the lapwing already in February?’
 b. **Hørte i februar du vipa allerede?*
 heard in February you lapwing-DEF already
 INTENDED: ‘Did you hear the lapwing already in February?’
 c. **Hørte allerede du vipa i februar?*
 heard already you lapwing-DEF in February
 INTENDED: ‘Did you hear the lapwing already in February?’

In addition to the standard way of forming *yes/no*-questions by inversion, as exemplified in (19), a sentence with declarative word order (i.e. the finite verb in second position) can also be interpreted as a *yes/no*-question if pronounced with a certain intonation, as in (21).

- (21) *Du hørte vipa i februar?*
 you heard lapwing-DEF in February
 ‘You heard the lapwing in February?’

⁹Except, again, with negation. Hence the following is well-formed:

- (i) *Hørte ikke du vipa allerede i februar?*
 heard NEG you lapwing-DEF already in February
 ‘Didn’t you hear the lapwing already in February?’

Such declaratives with “question intonation” are very common, but clearly they involve some kind of bias, an expectation of an affirmative answer (see, e.g., Engdahl 2008 and references cited therein). That is, unlike questions with subject-verb inversion, they are not contextually neutral. Although interesting in themselves, polar questions with declarative word order will not be a subject matter in this thesis. (See Gunlogson 2003 for an extensive account of the use of declaratives as questions in English.)

2.3.4 The main/embedded clause asymmetry

Both embedded declaratives and embedded questions differ from their main clause counterparts with respect to word order. In contrast to main clauses, V2 is generally disallowed in embedded clauses.¹⁰ Since the focus of the present work is questions, and not declaratives, I will limit this brief presentation of the main/embedded clause asymmetry to the asymmetry found in questions. I will first illustrate with *wh*-questions, thereafter with *yes/no*-questions.

Consider the embedded *wh*-questions in (22) below, from which it is evident that V3 word order is required in embedded contexts.¹¹ As shown in (22), the syntactic function of the *wh*-constituent is irrelevant: In (22a) it is the object of the clause, in (22b) an adverbial, and in (22c) the subject. In *wh*-subject questions such as (22c) the element *som* (glossed as ‘relative complementizer’)¹² is obligatorily inserted after the *wh*-phrase. The main clause word order with the finite verb in second position results in ill-formedness in all cases (compare with (15)).

¹⁰But see Julien (2007, 2008, 2010) for evidence for and discussion of V2 in embedded *at*-clauses.

¹¹Exceptions are clauses with sentence adverbs or negation, which may have V4 word order:

- (i) *Hun spurte ham [hva han egentlig hørte.]*
 she asked him [what he actually heard]
 ‘She asked him what he actually heard.’
- (ii) *Hun ville vite [hvem som ikke hørte den.]*
 she wanted know-INF [who REL NEG heard it]
 ‘She wanted to know who didn’t hear it.’

In any case the point is that the word order in embedded questions is non-V2 and different from the one found in main clause questions in Standard Norwegian.

¹²The exact status of the element *som* is somewhat unclear; see Vangsnes (2004) for discussion and examples of many different uses of this element. I have chosen to gloss *som* as REL (abbreviation for ‘relative complementizer’) throughout for the sake of convenience.

- (22) a. *Hun vet* [hva du hørte.] / [*hva hørte du.]
 she knows [what you heard] / [what heard you]
 ‘She knows what you heard.’
- b. *Hun vet* [når du hørte den.] / [*når hørte du den.]
 she knows [when you heard it] / [when heard you it]
 ‘She knows when you heard it.’
- c. *Hun vet* [hvem som hørte den.] / [*hvem hørte den.]
 she knows [who REL heard it] / [who heard it]
 ‘She knows who heard it.’

The finite verb cannot move across a sentence adverb (S-adverb) such as *alltid* ‘always’, cf. (23), in which there is presumably no verb movement at all, yielding V4 word order. (The crucial parts of the example are rendered in boldface.)

- (23) *Han vet* [hvilke fugler som **alltid overvintrer** på Jæren.] /
 He knows [which birds REL always winter on Jæren.] /
 [*hvilke fugler som **overvintrer alltid** på Jæren.]
 [which birds REL winter always on Jæren.]
 ‘He knows which birds always winter on Jæren.’

From the above we can conclude that the order *wh-constituent* > *subject* / *som* > (*S-adverb*) > *finite verb* is required in embedded *wh*-questions. This requirement holds for both Standard Norwegian and every dialect.

Similar requirements apply to embedded *yes/no*-questions. Consider the examples in (24) below. As shown in (24a), the finite verb cannot move across the subject—nor across sentence adverbs (cf. (24b)) or negation (cf. (24c)).

- (24) a. *Jeg lurer på* [om **sanglerka har** kommet.] /
 I wonder on [whether skylark-DEF has arrived] /
 [*om **har sanglerka** kommet.]
 [whether has skylark-DEF arrived]
 ‘I wonder whether the skylark has arrived.’
- b. *Jeg lurer på* [om *sanglerka* **alltid kommer** i mars.] /
 I wonder on [whether skylark-DEF always arrives in
 March] / [*om *sanglerka* **kommer alltid** i mars.]
 [whether skylark-DEF arrives always in March]
 ‘I wonder whether the skylark always arrives in March.’

- c. *Jeg lurer på [om <ikke> sanglerka <ikke> overvintrer.]* / *[*om sanglerka overvintrer ikke.]*
 I wonder on [whether NEG skylark-DEF NEG
 winters] / [whether skylark-DEF winters NEG]
 Roughly: ‘I believe the skylark winters.’ or ‘I believe the skylark
 doesn’t winter.’ (Interpretation depends on prosodic factors and
 position of negation.)

See Faarlund et al. (1997, pp. 864–866) for more on word order in embedded clauses in Norwegian.

2.4 V2 as V⁰-to-C⁰ movement and XP-fronting

Before embarking on a syntactic analysis of the formation of questions with non-V2 word order in a V2 language like Norwegian, it can be helpful to look into the nature of V2 from a theoretical perspective, and to acknowledge that V2 itself is not necessarily simply some “big rule” that is blindly obeyed or a “macroparameter” in the sense of Baker (1996), but rather a consequence of other, smaller syntactic properties.¹³ That is, instead of asking how a language satisfies a hypothetical V2 “constraint” or “requirement,” I will rather ask: What causes V2? What are the underlying, theoretical factors?

As I showed in 2.3, both main clause declaratives and *wh*-questions have V2 word order in Norwegian. V2 is commonly understood as involving movement of the finite verb to C⁰—so-called V⁰-to-C⁰ movement—and subsequent movement of a phrase XP to Spec-CP, yielding verb-second word order.¹⁴ In *yes/no*-questions with V1 word order, however, no XP is fronted to Spec-CP. But V⁰-to-C⁰ movement still takes place, as revealed by subject-verb-inversion (cf. (19)). Thus, more specifically, the questions I would like to be able to answer in this section are the following four:

(i) What drives V⁰-to-C⁰ movement?

(ii) Why is there no movement to C⁰ in embedded questions?

¹³By non-V2 I mean V n , $n > 2$.

¹⁴Following, among others, Schwartz and Vikner (1996), I assume that the finite verb is located in C⁰ in all types of V2-clauses, including subject-initial ones. That is, all clauses have CPs.

- (iii) What triggers the obligatory fronting of an XP to Spec-CP?
- (iv) Why is there no movement to Spec-CP in *yes/no*-questions?

Questions (i) and (ii) are the topic of 2.4.1, where I will discuss theoretical accounts of V^0 -to- C^0 movement. Questions (ii) and (iii) are the topic of 2.4.2, where I will discuss the theoretical mechanisms behind phrasal movement to the specifier of C^0 .

2.4.1 Verb movement to C^0

Ever since den Besten (1983), V2 has been taken to involve head movement of the finite verb into the complementizer system. This verb movement is what is commonly referred to in the literature as V^0 -to- C^0 or T^0 -to- C^0 movement (the verb cannot move directly from V^0 to C^0 due to the Head Movement Constraint principle, originally proposed by Travis 1984, p. 131). But what triggers this V^0 -to- T^0 -to- C^0 movement, and why is there no movement to C^0 in embedded questions? I will go into these questions in 2.4.1.1 and 2.4.1.2, respectively.

2.4.1.1 Main clauses

Holmberg and Platzack (1995, henceforth H&P) postulate an abstract finiteness feature $[\pm F(\text{inite})]$, which is $[+F]$ in finite clauses, and propose that the difference between V2 and non-V2 languages is related to the position of the $[+F]$ feature, i.e. whether it is located in T^0 or in C^0 . In V2 languages, $[+F]$ is located in C^0 (Holmberg and Platzack 1995, p. 73). Having $[+F]$ in C^0 means that C^0 must be lexicalized by a finite verb, and thus $[+F]$ in C^0 triggers verb movement.¹⁵

A similar approach to that of H&P is found in Pesetsky and Torrego (2001, henceforth P&T), in which the asymmetry between English subject and non-subject *wh*-questions with respect to *do*-support is discussed.¹⁶ P&T assume that

¹⁵H&P's licensing condition for $[+F]$ is related to nominative case: "An occurrence of the feature $[+F]$ is licit if and only if the head hosting it is lexicalized and governs a phonetically realized element bearing nominative Case, or the trace of such an element." (Holmberg and Platzack 1995, p. 44) This means that the subject (bearing nominative case) will end up in Spec-CP or Spec-TP if $[+F]$ is in C^0 .

¹⁶P&T's account of T^0 -to- C^0 movement is also closely connected to their notion of abstract nominative case, which they take to be $[uT]$ on D, thus making possible the deletion of $[uT]$ on interrogative C^0 by movement of a *wh*-subject (being a DP bearing nominative case) to Spec-CP

an uninterpretable T(ense)-feature is present in C^0 , and postulate the following motivation for verb movement to C^0 , which I will adopt here:

(25) *Motivation for T-to-C movement (in English matrix interrogative clauses)*

C bears an uninterpretable T-feature (henceforth uT) with the EPP property. (Pesetsky and Torrego 2001, p. 360)

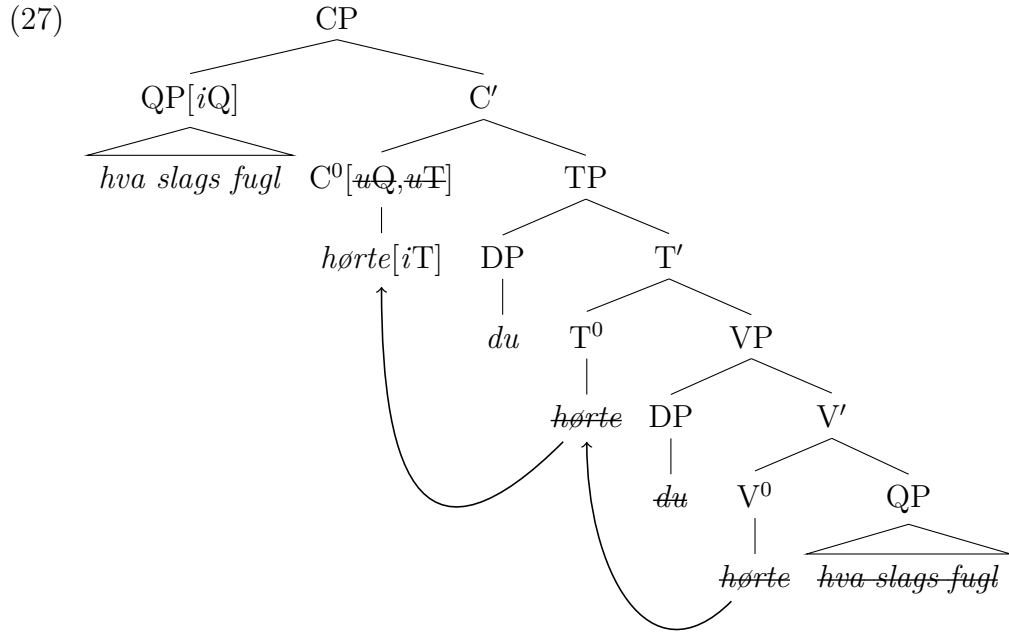
I assume that movement of a finite/tensed verb carrying an interpretable T-feature $[iT]$ from T^0 to C^0 deletes $[uT]$ in C^0 . Note that P&T's notion of the EPP (Extended Projection Principle) is different from the classical notion of the EPP as a requirement that some overt material be merged or moved into the specifier of the head bearing the EPP feature. P&T take the EPP to be a property of the T-feature, and not a feature of the C^0 head itself (i.e. the EPP is “a subfeature of a feature”, Pesetsky and Torrego 2001, p. 359). Thus P&T ascribe whether or not T^0 -to- C^0 movement takes place to the $[uT]$ being $\pm EPP$.¹⁷

P&T's $[uT (+EPP)]$ roughly corresponds to H&P's $[+F]$, or a “strong” feature on C^0 in the sense of Chomsky (1995) (I will not adopt the strong/weak distinction here, but the point is that only strong features can force overt movement). Whether $[uT]$ has the EPP property, or is itself a strong feature, are basically two ways of formulating the same thing, neither of which is particularly explanatory in the sense that both to a certain extent “simply restate the observation”, to borrow an expression from Roberts and Roussou (2002, p. 148, n.1). I will choose the notation from P&T, and use $[uT (+EPP)]$ to indicate the tense feature that drives verb movement.

I said in 2.2.3 that verb movement into C^0 is not involved in clause typing, i.e. the finite verb does not delete $[uQ]$ on C^0 . This is consistent with the account given by P&T, who also operate with a question feature $[uWh]$ on C^0 . The deletion of $[uWh]$ on C^0 comes about by *wh*-movement to Spec-CP, and is independent of the deletion of $[uT]$ (P&T's $[uWh]$ corresponds to my $[uQ]$, see footnote 1 on page 12). That is, the assumption stated in (26) can be maintained.

(see the original paper for the technical details). This is not directly transferrable to Norwegian, however, in which *wh*-subjects in Spec-CP and T^0 -to- C^0 movement can co-occur.

¹⁷A similar approach is taken by Westergaard and Vangsnes (2005), cf. section 3.2.4.



- (26) The uninterpretable features $[uQ]$ and $[uT]$ on interrogative C^0 are deleted in two separate operations.

We can now represent the derivation of a *wh*-question with V2 word order like the one in (15a) in a tree structure. The representation of (15a) is given in (27) on this page, in which the verb movement from V^0 via T^0 to C^0 is illustrated with arrows.

2.4.1.2 Embedded clauses

As is apparent from the examples in (22), (23) and (24), there is no verb movement to C^0 in embedded questions—neither in embedded *wh*-questions nor in embedded *yes/no*-questions. Why not?

With respect to English, Carnie (2002, p. 284) is honest: “Why you don’t get T-to-C movement in embedded *wh*-clauses in English is a mystery. We don’t have a good explanation for it.” Pesetsky and Torrego (2001, pp. 377–380) ascribe the lack of T^0 -to- C^0 movement in embedded *wh*-clauses in English to the same

T-feature discussed above, which they take to lack the EPP property when found on embedded interrogative C^0 (i.e. the feature is $[uT (-EPP)]$).

In Norwegian, however, there is reason to believe that the C^0 position is occupied by a complementizer. Holmberg and Platzack (1995) argue as follows:

... the V2 requirement of V2 languages that at most one constituent may precede the tensed verb in main clauses is due to a movement of the tensed verb to C. The word order asymmetry between main clauses and subordinate clauses in Germanic V2 languages [...] is taken to be a result of the occurrence of a complementizer in C in subordinate clauses, which blocks movement to this position in overt syntax. (Holmberg and Platzack 1995, p. 73)

The rationale behind H&P's theory is that in embedded subject *wh*-questions and embedded *yes/no*-questions, we find the overt complementizers *som* and *om* (cf. (22c) and ((24)), respectively), which block movement. That is, the finite verb is in complementary distribution with complementizers.

With respect to embedded non-subject *wh*-questions (cf. (22a,b)), where there is no overt complementizer, the question is more open, however. It is not completely clear from H&P's account what prevents the finite verb from moving into C^0 in embedded non-subject *wh*-questions (inasmuch as these do not contain a (possibly silent) complementizer, e.g. *som*, cf. Vangsnes 2004, pp. 26–27).

Vikner (1995) discusses the V2 phenomenon in both main and embedded contexts, and suggests an explanation as to why verb movement is impossible in embedded questions like (22a,b). Vikner owes the lack of verb movement to C^0 to a $[+Wh]$ feature of the embedded C^0 . He states it like this:

At D-structure the subcategorization requirement of the matrix verb would be satisfied by a $[+Wh]$ feature of the empty C^0 , and at S-structure it would be satisfied by a $[+Wh]$ feature of the finite verb in C^0 . In other words, the $[+Wh]$ feature of the empty C^0 would have been deleted between D-structure and S-structure, something which is not allowed. (Vikner 1995, p. 50)

The disallowance of the deletion between D(eep) and S(urface) structure is due to violation of the Projection Principle, which requires that syntactic representations be kept constant at each syntactic level (see Chomsky 1993 [1981], p. 29). Within the MP however, there is no such thing as D and S structure, so a different account is called for.¹⁸

Consistent with (25) adopted in 2.4.1.1 above, I will follow P&T and assume that the uninterpretable T-feature in C^0 in embedded non-subject *wh*-questions lack the EPP property.

2.4.2 XP-movement to Spec-CP

Question (iii) raised above—why overt movement to Spec-CP must apply—is, as pointed out by Faarlund (2005, pp. 166–167), widely debated in the literature, and a question to which there is really no agreed-upon answer. In their 2002 paper, Roberts and Roussou discuss the V2 requirement, and, after presenting an account of verb movement to C^0 , face the same challenge: “The real question is what forces XP-fronting.” (Roberts and Roussou 2002, p. 138)

I will, however, not go into any discussion here of what might cause movement to Spec-CP in declaratives or other clause types apart from interrogative clauses (if the motivation for XP-fronting is at all different in declaratives and questions). I have already presented the central theoretical motivation behind XP-fronting to Spec-CP in questions in section 2.2.3, where I discussed clause typing and the checking of the uninterpretable Q-feature on C^0 . Thus, as an answer to (iii) I will maintain that XP-fronting in questions is due to the need to eliminate [*uQ*]

¹⁸Vikner’s discussion is closely related to the *wh*-criterion proposed by Rizzi (1996):

(28) *The wh-criterion* (Rizzi 1996, p. 64)

- A. A *wh*-operator must be in a Spec-head configuration with [*+Wh*] X^0
- B. A [*+Wh*] X^0 must be in a Spec-head configuration with a *wh*-operator

A *wh*-operator is a *wh*-element in an A-bar-position (typically Spec-CP). According to the *wh*-criterion, C^0 in an embedded *wh*-clause must be endowed with a [*+Wh*] feature, but it does not say anything directly about verb movement to the [*+Wh*] X^0 . Rizzi writes that a sentence like (i) “is excluded by whatever principle accounts for the root character of I-to-C movement” (1996, p. 67).

(i) **I wonder [who has Mary seen.]*

Rizzi (1996) too, operates with D and S structure, hence his discussion is of limited value here.

on C^0 . Regarding question (iv)—why there is no overt material in Spec-CP in *yes/no*-questions—I also refer to section 2.2.3, where I argue that $[uQ]$ on C^0 is deleted by merger of a phonologically null question operator in Spec-CP. This view is supported by the fact that in English, embedded *yes/no*-questions are introduced by *whether*, which is taken to be an XP located in Spec-CP (following Chomsky 1995; Kayne 1991; Larson 1985), i.e. the overt realization of the same question operator.

Chapter 3

Previous research on the syntax of questions in Norwegian

3.1 Introduction

In this chapter I will give a brief overview of the existing literature on the syntax of questions in Norwegian dialects, with special reference to the work done on the dialects spoken in Rogaland. The chapter has two main parts: Section 3.2, in which previous work on V2 and non-V2 in *wh*-questions are dealt with, and 3.3, in which former treatments of *om*-questions are presented.

3.2 Previous research on *wh*-questions

Much has been written about the absence of V2 in main clause *wh*-questions in Norwegian dialects (e.g. Elstad 1982; Fiva 1996; Lie 1992; Nilsen 1996; Nordgård 1985, 1988; Rice and Svenonius 1998; Taraldsen 1986a,b; Vangsnes 2004, 2006; Westergaard 2003, 2005; Westergaard and Vangsnes 2005; Åfarli 1986a,b). I will concentrate on a few, selected works, particularly those that include the dialects spoken in Rogaland.

Westergaard and Vangsnes (2005) and Vangsnes (2006) are some of the most comprehensive papers on *wh*-questions in Norwegian dialects, and also some of the most recent. Both take into consideration and systematize much previous work on

the subject. However, only the latter discusses the Rogaland dialects. The data from Rogaland in Vangsnes (2006) are in turn based on Nordgård (1985) and the investigations undertaken by him, and Vangsnes (2006, p. 202) also holds that Nordgård (1985) remains the “main source of information available concerning how Norwegian dialects differ with respect to the degree of non-V2 allowed”. In addition to Nordgård, Lie (1992) also collected his own data on the acceptance of non-V2 in *wh*-questions from informants from Rogaland.

I will go through the four above-mentioned works in chronological order by year of publication below. I will briefly present the results of Nordgård’s and Lie’s investigations in 3.2.2 and 3.2.3, before summarizing some of Westergaard and Vangsnes’ (2005) and Vangsnes’ (2006) main points in 3.2.4 and 3.2.5. To add some historical perspective, I will, however, start out with Svendsen (1931), which, together with Berntsen and Larsen (1978 [1925]), represents one of the earliest works on the syntax of one of the Rogaland dialects.

Before I proceed, it will be useful to recall that there exist two types of *wh*-questions, namely (i) those in which the *wh*-constituent is the subject of the clause, and (ii) those in which the *wh*-constituent is not the subject of the clause. These are referred to as subject *wh*-questions and non-subject *wh*-questions, respectively.

3.2.1 Svendsen (1931)

Martin Svendsen’s *Syntaksen i Stavanger bymål* (‘The syntax of Stavanger city dialect’) from 1931 is the only monograph dedicated solely to the syntax of a dialect spoken in Rogaland. With regard to non-V2 in *wh*-questions, Svendsen explicitly states that a non-inverted word order is totally unfamiliar in the Stavanger dialect:

Completely unknown to this dialect is inserting a pronoun as subject before the predicate after interrogative pronouns and adverbial question words, as is often done in the dialects in Trøndelag and Troms (*Kæm du træfte?* [Literally ‘Who you met?’]).¹ (Svendsen 1931, p. 93)

¹My translation. The original passage in Norwegian: “Helt ukjent for dette bymål er å sette pronomen som subjekt foran predikatet efter spørrende pronomener og adverbiale spørreord, som det gjerne gjøres i målene i Trøndelag og Troms (‘Kæm du træfte?’).”

Not anticipating Nordgård's and Lie's findings (presented in the subsequent sections of the present chapter), or my own findings from Rogaland in general and Stavanger in particular (presented in chapter 5), I will simply remark that they differ sharply from Svendsen's description in the above quote.²

3.2.2 Nordgård (1985)

Nordgård (1985) examines word order phenomena in *wh*-questions in Norwegian dialects, which he divides into six groups: Northern Norwegian (the counties Finnmark, Troms, and Nordland), Mid-Norwegian (Trøndelag), North Western Norwegian (Møre og Romsdal), Mid Western Norwegian (Hordaland), South Western Norwegian (Rogaland), and “the V2 dialects” (the regions Østlandet and Sørlandet). Nordgård collected new data by means of questionnaires containing 92 different test sentences (which all were written in Bokmål), including both V2 and non-V2 *wh*-questions. Informants from each of the dialect groups were asked to judge the sentences as “ungrammatical”, “grammatical”, or neither of the two. Unfortunately, the number of informants involved in Nordgård's study was quite low. From a total of twenty-five, only two informants represented the dialect group that comprises the dialects spoken in Rogaland county (i.e. South Western Norwegian). Any further specification as to where in Rogaland the informants were from is not given. It is, however, evident that all the informants were living in

²Of course, the fact that Svendsen's statement is at odds with recent observations of the dialect as it is spoken today may reflect a syntactic change, i.e. diachronic variation. I have, however, found several instances of *wh*-questions with V3 word order in works by the famous Norwegian writer Arne Garborg (1851–1924), who came from Garborg, near Undheim, in the municipality of Time, at Jæren in Rogaland (see the map in figure 4.3), using the text corpus Nynorskorpuset NO2014 (see <http://no2014.uio.no/>). Two of the examples from Garborg that I have found are given below. The references in parentheses refer to volume and page number in *Skriftir i samling* (Garborg 1922) as found at <http://www.dokpro.uio.no/litteratur/garborg/>.

- (i) *Julie raudna; vart uroleg; kva det var, kva det var for Slag?* (Garborg 1922, vol. I, p. 291)
Julie blushed became anxious what it was what it was for sort
'Julie blushed; became anxious; what was it, what was it?'
- (ii) *Kva det var for noko? spurde ho Mor kvast.* (Garborg 1922, vol. II, p. 134)
what that was for something asked she mother caustically
'What was that? mother asked caustically.'

The above examples indicate that non-V2 *wh*-questions existed in dialects spoken close to Stavanger prior to the time when Svendsen's book was written.

Trondheim at the time of the data collection.

Nordgård distinguishes four types of *wh*-questions, namely those in which the fronted *wh*-constituent is (i) a bare *wh*-phrase (i.e. a single *wh*-word like *hva* ‘what’); (ii) a complex *wh*-phrase (e.g. *hvor mange bøker* ‘how many books’); (iii) a complex determiner *wh*-phrase (i.e. a phrase with a complex *wh*-determiner, but no noun, e.g. *hvor mange* ‘how many’); and (iv) a *wh*-adjunct (i.e. a *wh*-adverb like *hvor* ‘where’).

With respect to (i) above, Nordgård reports that “[g]enerally, non-inversion when bare *wh*-phrases are fronted seems to be grammatical in South Western dialects” (p. 18).

As for (ii), non-V2 is reported to be impossible in subject *wh*-questions. He does not draw any conclusions about the acceptability of non-subject *wh*-questions with complex *wh*-phrases.

Concerning the type in (iii), non-V2 was accepted in questions in which the *wh*-phrase is the subject, i.e. in questions like (29) below.

- (29) *Hvor mange som vil være med til London?*
 how many REL will be-INF with to London
 ‘How many want to travel with (us) to London?’

If, however, the complex determiner *wh*-phrase does not function as the subject, non-V2 was largely judged unacceptable.

Non-V2 in type (iv), questions with *wh*-adjuncts, is reported to be in “fairly free variation” with V2 (p. 19).

To sum up Nordgård’s findings, non-V2 was accepted in Rogaland with any kind of bare *wh*-word, irrespective of its status as argument or adjunct. Non-V2 is generally not accepted with complex *wh*-constituents, with the exception of complex determiner phrases with no noun in subject *wh*-questions (cf. (29)).

I will not go through the technical analysis of *wh*-questions given in Nordgård (1985), partly because it is written within the older Government and Binding framework (Chomsky 1981). However, as we will see in 3.2.5, Nordgård’s data form the empirical base for Vangsnes’ analyses of non-V2 in Rogaland.

3.2.3 Lie (1992)

Lie (1992) surveys the geographical distribution of *wh*-questions with non-V2 word order in Norway. Lie's findings are mostly based on questionnaires, which he sent out to informants from different parts of the country. In the questionnaires the informants were asked to consider and to give their acceptability judgments on two types of questions with non-V2: Non-subject *wh*-questions with a bare *wh*-word of the type *Kva du gjorde i går?* (literally 'What you did yesterday?'), and subject *wh*-questions with *som*-insertion (see 3.2.5 below) of the type *Kven som har vore her?* (literally 'Who that has been here?'). Both types were contrasted with their inverted counterparts with V2. Any further description of the exact test sentences used is not given in the article, neither is the exact number of informants. But it is made evident that Lie contacted informants from Bjerkreim, Gjesdal, Haugesund, Klepp, Ognå, Strand, Suldal, and Time (see figure 4.3 on page 60 for a detailed map of Rogaland).

For Rogaland as a whole, Lie concludes that non-V2 is accepted in subject *wh*-questions, but not in non-subject *wh*-questions. However, he does report that the non-subject type was accepted by some informants from Ryfylke (i.e. Forsand, Sand, Strand and Suldal)—but not by informants from Jæren (i.e. Gjesdal, Klepp, and Time). The informants from Ognå and Bjerkreim apparently accepted neither type.

Also briefly mentioning *om*-questions (see 3.3), Lie interestingly concludes that there is no geographical overlap between the dialects that accept non-V2 in *wh*-questions and the ones that attest *om*-questions. This conclusion is in strong disagreement with the data I will present in chapter 5 and 6.

Lie's paper is not written in a generativist framework, and does not give any technical analyses of the syntax of the questions. He does, however, discuss the historical origin of the non-V2 constructions, and convincingly argues that non-V2 in both subject and non-subject *wh*-questions originates from cleft constructions.³

³The idea that non-V2 *wh*-questions have developed from clefts is also shared by Vangsnes et al. (2010), and is discussed in Vangsnes (2004, pp. 45–47). I will consider the relation between cleft constructions and non-V2 in section 5.4.5.

3.2.4 Westergaard and Vangsnes (2005)

Westergaard and Vangsnes (2005, henceforth W&V) discuss V2 and non-V2 in *wh*-questions in three Norwegian dialects: Standard Norwegian, the Tromsø dialect, and the Nordmøre dialect. Although W&V do not mention the Rogaland dialects explicitly, I will nevertheless depict some of the insights from their paper, as they are related to the same word order phenomena as the ones of core interest here, and thus relevant to the discussion to follow in later chapters.

Adopting a split-CP along the lines of Rizzi (1997, 2001), W&V (p. 129) propose the following articulation of the CP domain, involving projections of five different functional heads:

$$(30) \quad [_{CP} \text{Int(errogative)}^0 \text{Top(ic)}^0 (\text{Foc)us}^0 \text{Wh}^0 \text{Fin(iteness)}^0] [_{IP}$$

Importantly, not all of the heads in (30) need be present in all clauses in W&V's account (for a head to be present it must be licensed by some overt material either in its specifier or head position). Unlike Rizzi's original proposal, W&V assume that clause typing does not take place in ForceP (see (11)), but rather is an effect of what functional heads may be present in the CP domain. In main clause questions, Int^0 is present, and the clause is thus typed as interrogative. Declarative main clauses, on the other hand, lack Int^0 and are introduced by the Top^0 head.

In the traditional, unsplit CP adopted in this thesis, W&V's Int^0 corresponds to C^0 , both being the head of the leftmost projection in the clause and the head of the projection involved in clause typing (and hence the four projections to the right of Int in (30) need not concern us here).

W&V further assume that V2 in main clause questions is a consequence of the Int^0 head being endowed with an EPP feature, a feature that they take to be required to be checked by a head X^0 if found on a head Y^0 (i.e. merger of an XP in the specifier of Y^0 does not suffice).⁴ Thus the basics of W&V's account of the difference between a dialect that never allows non-V2 in main clause *wh*-questions (e.g. Standard Norwegian) and a dialect that allows non-V2 in all types of main

⁴In this respect W&V's account resembles the approach to V2 found in Pesetsky and Torrego (2001, pp. 359–360), where the EPP is considered “a subfeature of a feature”, and T^0 -to- C^0 movement is taken to be caused by an uninterpretable T-feature with the EPP property, $[\text{uT}, +\text{EPP}]$, on C^0 . (See section 2.4.1)

clause *wh*-questions (e.g. the Nordmøre dialect) is summarized in the following quotation:

... we will argue that the difference between NOR-1 [= Standard Norwegian] and NOR-3 [= the Nordmøre dialect] is that, while the former has the $[X^0_{\text{EPP}}]$ feature on Int^0 , the latter dialect type does not. In other words, there is a requirement for a lexicalized Int^0 head in NOR-1 but not in NOR-3. This then accounts for V2 word order being obligatory in NOR-1 in all types of *wh*-questions, while the V3 word order is always possible in NOR-3 regardless of the type of *wh*-constituent. (Westergaard and Vangsnes 2005, p. 132)

The idea of a lexicalization requirement on Int^0 is similar to the proposals advanced by Vangsnes (2006), who does not operate with a split-CP, but a single C head for interrogative clauses. Vangsnes' paper is the topic of the next subsection.

3.2.5 Vangsnes (2006) and the complexity constraint on non-V2

As is well known, several Norwegian dialects allow the non-V2, “embedded” word order showed in (16) and (22) in chapter 2 in main clause questions. However, not all of the dialects that allow non-V2 allow it in all contexts. Both Nordgård (1985, 1988) and Vangsnes (2006) stress the complexity of the fronted *wh*-phrase as a point of variation with respect to whether or not the dialects allow non-V2 in main clause *wh*-questions. This is what Vangsnes (2004, 2006) refers to as the “complexity constraint” on non-V2, a constraint that he assumes is really morphosyntactic rather than phonological in nature.⁵

Before going into Vangsnes' analysis in detail, I will present some constructions that will be relevant for the discussion to follow, and that will help us understand Vangsnes' work. The complexity constraint applies to both subject and non-subject *wh*-questions, but sometimes differently. Let me begin with the latter.

⁵Meaning that e.g. the contracted form *kass* of the morphologically complex *wh*-determiner *ka slags* ‘what kind (of)’, which is monosyllabic and thus phonologically simple, may still impose a constraint on non-V2 (see Vangsnes 2006, pp. 196–197 for details).

In non-subject *wh*-questions with non-V2 word order, some dialects only allow short, monosyllabic *wh*-elements, such as the bare *wh*-word *ka* ‘what’ in the example in (31) below.

- (31) *Ka du snakke om?*
 what you talk about
 ‘What are you talking about?’

Other dialects accept both (31) as well as more complex *wh*-constituents in non-subject main clause *wh*-questions:

- (32) *Ka slags bil du har?*
 what sort car you have
 ‘What kind of car have you got?’

When it comes to subject *wh*-questions, non-V2 is attested by insertion of the element *som* between the *wh*-subject and the finite verb.⁶ As I showed in (22c), *som* obligatorily follows *wh*-subjects in embedded subject *wh*-questions (in both Standard Norwegian and every dialect). While being unacceptable in Standard Norwegian (cf. (16c)), the insertion of *som* in main clause subject *wh*-questions is allowed in many dialects.⁷ An example of this is given in (33).

- (33) *Kem som vant?*
 who REL won
 ‘Who won?’

The V2 variant of (33), without *som* (cf. (15c)), is also generally accepted in the dialects that allow the word order in (33). Exceptions are the dialects spoken

⁶The relative complementizer *som* is normally pronounced *så* in the Rogaland dialects, as will be obvious from some of the examples given in next chapters. That is, *som* and *så* are two instances of the same lexical item, and they are both glossed as REL.

⁷Neither Standard Norwegian nor any dialect allow *som* in non-subject *wh*-questions, irrespective of inversion, hence the unacceptability of (i) and (ii):

- (i) **Hva som du snakker om?*
 what REL you talk about
 INTENDED: ‘What are you talking about?’
 (ii) **Hva som snakker du om?*
 what REL talk you about
 INTENDED: ‘What are you talking about?’

in Nordmøre (Åfarli 1986b) and Tromsø (Vangsnes 2006), which allow only the embedded, non-V2 word order in subject *wh*-questions.

With *wh*-subjects, too, the complexity constraint applies. Hence dialects differ with respect to the grammaticality of *wh*-questions with complex *wh*-phrases of the type in (34).

- (34) *Ka slags motor som står i bilen?*
 what sort engine REL stands in car-DEF
 ‘What kind of engine is in the car?’

Let us now return to Vangsnes (2006). According to Vangsnes, the three main variables regarding Norwegian *wh*-grammars seem to be (i) whether a dialect allows non-V2 in main clause *wh*-questions at all, (ii) whether non-V2 is optional alongside V2, and (iii) whether non-V2 is acceptable with short *wh*-elements only. In addition, (i), (ii), and (iii) all may vary along the $\pm wh$ -subject scale. On the basis of the data from Nordgård’s study, Vangsnes proposes a set of values for these variables for the Rogaland dialects. The values are schematized in table 3.1.⁸

Table 3.1: Vangsnes’ *wh*-grammar for Rogaland, based on Nordgård (1988, p. 32). Reproduction of Vangsnes’ table 6 (2006, p. 205).

	non-V2	“optional” V2	short <i>wh</i> only
<i>wh</i> [+SUBJ]	+	+	+
<i>wh</i> [−SUBJ]	+	+	+

From table 3.1 we see that the Rogaland dialects are reported to allow both V2 and non-V2 in both subject and non-subject *wh*-questions, and to be subject to the complexity constraint (i.e. allowing non-V2 with short *wh*-elements only). I will return to these matters in section 5.2, and show that the Rogaland dialects do in fact allow all forms of non-V2, i.e. with both simple and complex *wh*-phrases, and thus disobey the complexity constraint.

⁸The reason for why “optional” is in quotation marks in table 3.1 must be that, as Vangsnes (2006, p. 198) puts it, “[t]here are reasons to believe that the choice is governed by pragmatic factors, and that we thus are not dealing with true optionality.”

Table 3.2: Conditions causing non-V2 in Norwegian dialects. Reproduction of Vangsnes' (41) (2006, p. 208).

(i)	No $[_{\text{lex}}C^{\text{int}}]$	\rightarrow	absence of V2 in <i>wh</i> -questions
(ii)	Short <i>wh</i> = X^0	\rightarrow	short <i>wh</i> may appear without V2
(iii)	<i>som</i> = X^0	\rightarrow	absence of V2 allowed in subject <i>wh</i> -questions

Table 3.3: Summary of Vangsnes' microparametric settings for some Norwegian *wh*-grammars. Reproduction of Vangsnes' table 14 (2006, p. 217).

	$[_{\text{lex}}C^{\text{int}}]$	Short <i>wh</i> = X^0	<i>som</i> = X^0
Nordmøre	—	?	+
Tromsø	+	+	+
Trøndelag/Rogaland	+	+	—
Hordaland	+	—	+
Eastern Norwegian	+	—	—

Based on a set of three so-called microparameters, all involving properties of the CP, Vangsnes further proposes a microparametric account of the variation between various Norwegian dialects. His microparameters are: (i) whether or not interrogative C^0 (“ C^{int} ”) must be lexicalized, (ii) whether or not short *wh*-elements are heads that may lexicalize C^0 , and (iii) whether or not the element *som* that appears in subject *wh*-questions is a head or not. The effects of these parameters are shown in table 3.2. Vangsnes also sums up the settings of the same three parameters for six different dialects of Norwegian, grouping the Rogaland dialects with one spoken in Trøndelag. His microparametric settings are given in table 3.3.⁹

In table 3.2, (i) shows that a negative setting of the parameter called $[_{\text{lex}}C^{\text{int}}]$, i.e. no lexicalization requirement on interrogative C, allows for non-V2 in all types

⁹The question mark in the top row in table 3.3 is explained as follows: “As for the status of the short *wh*-elements it is not possible to decide whether they are clitic or not since the effect will be overridden by the other relevant properties of the dialect.” (Vangsnes 2006, p. 215)

of *wh*-questions as shown in (31–34). A positive setting of parameter (ii) allows for non-V2 in questions of the type in (31) only. A positive setting of (iii) allows for non-V2 of the type in (33) and (34).

It follows from what has just been said that Vangsnes ascribes the absence of V2 in the Rogaland dialects to the *wh*-word being located in C^0 , where it blocks verb movement (taking short *wh*-words to be reanalyzed as heads, following Taraldsen 1986b). As for subject *wh*-questions, *som* is analyzed by Vangsnes as a specifier in a high subject position below CP (the technical details on how this works are not clear to me). This is also the position taken in Westergaard and Vangsnes (2005).

In these respects Vangsnes’ explanations are somewhat controversial, as both treating *wh*-elements as heads and *som* as a specifier are non-standard. *Wh*-elements are generally assumed to be XPs that undergo A-bar-movement, and *som* is generally assumed to be a complementizer located in C^0 . I also find it problematic that a *wh*-object like *hva* ‘what’ is merged in an argument position (Comp-VP) but nevertheless ends up in a head position (C^0). I will show in chapter 5 and 7 that I take a different stand on these issues.

Another problem is that as long as non-V2 is “optional”, there must presumably be two representations of each simple *wh*-word present in the lexicon. The lexical status of the *wh*-words is not commented upon by Vangsnes (2006) or Westergaard and Vangsnes (2005).¹⁰ It is thus left unclear what determines the selection of which of these for the numeration, and how the \pm head status of a *wh*-word relates to embedded clauses.

3.3 Previous research on *om*-questions

The literature on *om*-questions is far from as copious as the literature on *wh*-questions. There are two sources discussing *om*-questions exclusively—Enger (1995) and Vangsnes (1996)—but from a syntactic point of view the latter is undoubtedly the most elaborate account. In fact Vangsnes’ paper is the only formal, generativist treatment of Norwegian main clause *om*-questions, and indeed a thorough and insightful one. The phenomenon is not mentioned at all in Berntsen and Larsen

¹⁰Vangsnes (2006, p. 211) suggests that short *wh*-elements “may project [i.e. become XPs] ... if they are stressed”.

(1978 [1925]) or Svendsen (1931), and only briefly mentioned as a curiosity of the Stavanger dialect in Omdal (1990), Lie (1992) and Faarlund et al. (1997).¹¹

First, I will present the essence of Vangsnes (1996) in 3.3.1, and then raise a few critical points in 3.3.2.

3.3.1 Vangsnes (1996)

Enger (1995), Lie (1992) and Vangsnes (1996) all consider *om*-questions a syntactic innovation, and discuss the historical origin of the construction.¹² Enger notes that there is an isomorphic relation between conditional clauses introduced by the complementizer *om* ‘if’ (35a) and *om*-questions (35b) on one side, and between conditional protases (35c) and standard polar questions (35d) on the other. Consider

¹¹Svendsen (1931, pp. 90–92) does however give examples of *yes/no*-questions introduced by the word *monn*, e.g. the ones in (i) and (ii) below.

- (i) *Monn kånå kåmme?*
MONN wife-DEF comes
‘Is the wife coming?’
- (ii) *Monn han visste någe åm at di va fårrlåfte?*
MONN he knew anything about that they were engaged
‘Did he know anything about their being engaged?’

Noticing Svendsen’s examples, Lie (1992, p. 75, n.6) suggests that questions introduced by *monn* may have led to *om*-questions. This may seem plausible given the phonological similarity of the two initial elements, but I will not pursue this idea here.

¹²What is meant by “innovation” is, however, not clear (the term is used by both Enger and Vangsnes—Lie refers to the construction as being “fairly recent” (1992, p. 68)). As I already said, *om*-questions are not mentioned in the earliest works on the Stavanger dialect. I have, however, also found several instances of *om*-questions in the works of Arne Garborg (1851–1924) (see footnote 2 on page 33). Three of the examples from Garborg that I have found are given below.

- (i) “*Um Guten døydde i Natt?*” *kviskra ho og kom i Graat.* (Garborg 1922, vol. VI, p. 74)
whether boy-DEF died tonight whispered she and came in weeping
“‘Did the boy die last night?’ she whispered and burst into tears.’
- (ii) *Um han kann staa?* (Garborg 1922, vol. VII, p. 91)
whether he can stand
‘Can he stand up?’
- (iii) *Um det lét seg gjera aa narre den Vonde?* (Garborg 1922, vol. VI, p. 165)
whether it let REFL do to fool-INF the evil
‘Is it possible to fool the evil?’

The above findings from Garborg support the claim made by Einar Lundebø, who, according to Lie (1992, p. 68, referred to as personal communication) stated that *om*-questions have been common in Stavanger since the beginning of the 20th century.

(35a–d), which are the examples given in Enger (1995, pp. 129–130) (the glosses are Enger’s original ones).

- (35) a. *Om du skal kjøre til byen i morgen, vil jeg gjerne*
 if you shall drive to town-DEF tomorrow want I gladly
sitte på.
 sit-INF on
 ‘If you are driving to town tomorrow I would like to get a lift.’
- b. *Om du ska kjøre te byen i måra?*
 if you shall drive-INF to town-DEF tomorrow
 ‘Are you driving to town tomorrow?’
- c. *Kommer han, så går jeg.*
 comes he so go I
 ‘If he comes then I leave.’
- d. *Kommer han?*
 comes he
 ‘Does he come?’

Based on the similarities between , Enger suggests that the construction found in a conditional protasis like (35a) has spread to polar questions, thus resulting in *om*-questions. Vangsnes (1996) doubts this explanation due to the fact that—as Enger himself points out—the complementizers *hvis* ‘if’ and *dersom* ‘if’ can also introduce conditional clauses in Norwegian in the same way as *om*, but there are no corresponding *hvis*- or *dersom*-questions. Instead Vangsnes focuses on Lie’s suggestion (1992, p. 75, n.6) that *om*-questions may be a short version of sentences like (36), in which the embedded question is introduced by the complementizer *om*.

- (36) *Eg lurte på [om eg kan få ei kaga]*
 I wondered on [if I can have a cake]
 ‘I was wondering if I could have a cake’

Vangsnes notes that embedded *om*-clauses and polar questions (including main clause *om*-questions) are similar to the extent that both denote a proposition with an undefined truth value, and draws similarities between the Stavanger dialect and Estonian, Finnish and Old Norse, languages in which direct and indirect questions can both be introduced by the same word. As I showed in section 2.3.4, there

is normally non-V2 in embedded clauses in Norwegian, where sentence adverbs precede the finite verb, contrary to main clauses, in which the verb precedes the adverb. Since embedded clauses introduced by *om* are no exception to the rule, one would not expect to find main clause *om*-questions with the word order *finite verb* > *sentence adverb* if they were elliptic versions of sentences like (36), with the matrix part of the construction deleted. But as Vangsnes skillfully observes, both possibilities exist: Both the embedded and the main clause word order are found in *om*-questions, as exemplified by the position of the sentence adverb *alltid* ‘always’ in (37a) and (37b), respectively.

- (37) a. *Om du alltid har bodd i Stavanger?*
 whether you always have lived in Stavanger
 ‘Have you always lived in Stavanger?’
 b. *Om du har alltid bodd i Stavanger?*
 whether you have always lived in Stavanger
 ‘Have you always lived in Stavanger?’

Vangsnes tested both the constructions in (37) (and many more) on informants from Rogaland (14 in total, most of which were from Stavanger), and found that both were judged acceptable. The acceptability of (37b) leads Vangsnes to reject the explanation that *om*-questions are short versions of sentences with subordinate *om*-clauses. Instead he proposes an alternative analysis, which involves two different versions of the lexical entry *om*—the “argumental” *om* and the “free” question particle *om*—where the difference between the two concerns their setting (+ and ±, respectively) of the lexical value [arg]. The argumental *om* is the complementizer introducing embedded clauses, found in every variety of Norwegian, while the free *om* is the one found in main clause *om*-questions in Rogaland. According to Vangsnes, *om*-questions are thus only possible for a speaker whose grammar generates an *om* with the specification [±arg] from the lexicon. Vangsnes’ reason for proposing this analysis has to do with the lexicalization of C⁰ in main clause questions. In embedded clauses the position C⁰ is normally filled by a complementizer (e.g. *om*, cf. Holmberg and Platzack 1995, Åfarli and Eide 2003), which prevents the verb from moving across sentence adverbs to C⁰, resulting in the word order *sentence adverb* > *finite verb*. In main clauses, however,

the verb moves to the empty C^0 position, giving the order *finite verb* > *sentence adverb*, and this verb movement into C^0 is found in normal polar questions as well. So, if the *om* in *om*-questions is generated in C^0 , it would not be possible for the verb to move to C^0 , and thus we would not find the verb preceding the adverb. But we know that this word order occurs and is acceptable (cf. (37b)), so a different explanation is called for. Vangsnes' solution is that there exists a functional phrase with an interrogative function projected above CP, which he names Quest(ion)P. The semantic contribution given by QuestP is defining the truth value of its complement, i.e. the proposition expressed by CP. He further proposes that the specifier of QuestP must always be filled by an interrogative operator (labeled "Op?" in the trees in (39), (40) and (41)), and that the head Quest⁰ must be lexicalized if this operator is phonetically empty. He suggests that the free *om* [–arg] has been reanalyzed as a question particle which is being base-generated (i.e. merged) in Quest⁰, leaving C^0 open for the finite verb. The structure of (37b) will then be as shown in (39) below (which is a reproduction of Vangsnes' (39) (1996, p. 183)). We see from (39) that the finite verb has moved to C^0 , yielding the *finite verb* > *sentence adverb* order.¹³

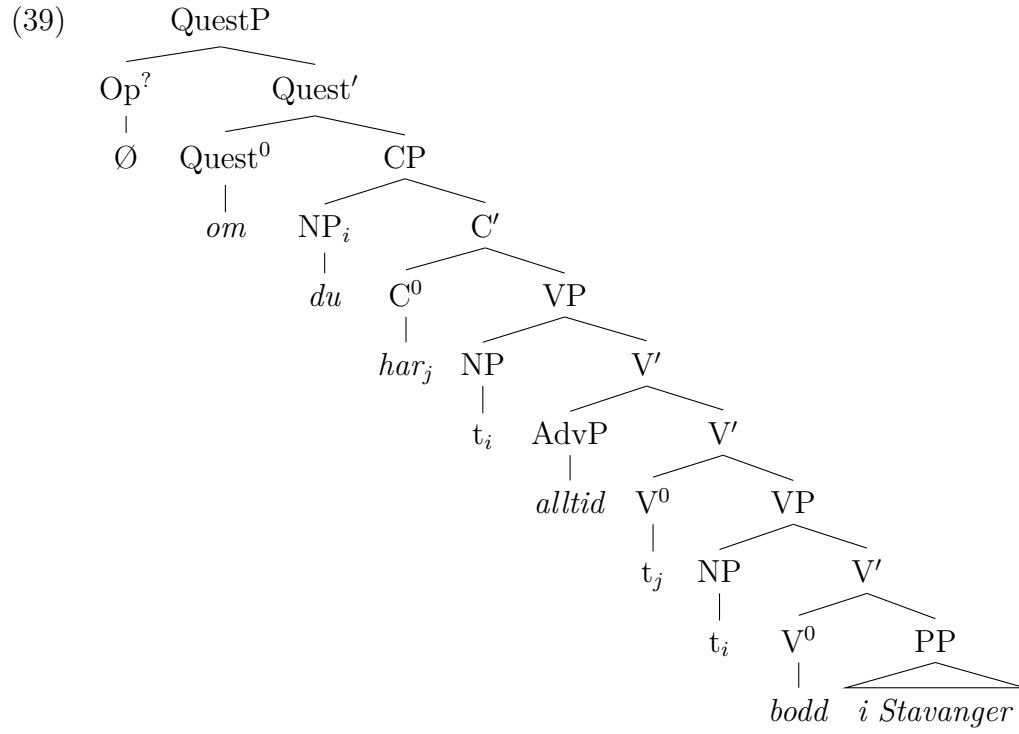
Crucially, Vangsnes assumes that the QuestP is not present in embedded clauses. Otherwise the unacceptability of the word order *finite verb* > *sentence adverb* in embedded *yes/no*-questions would be left unaccounted for (cf. (24b)).

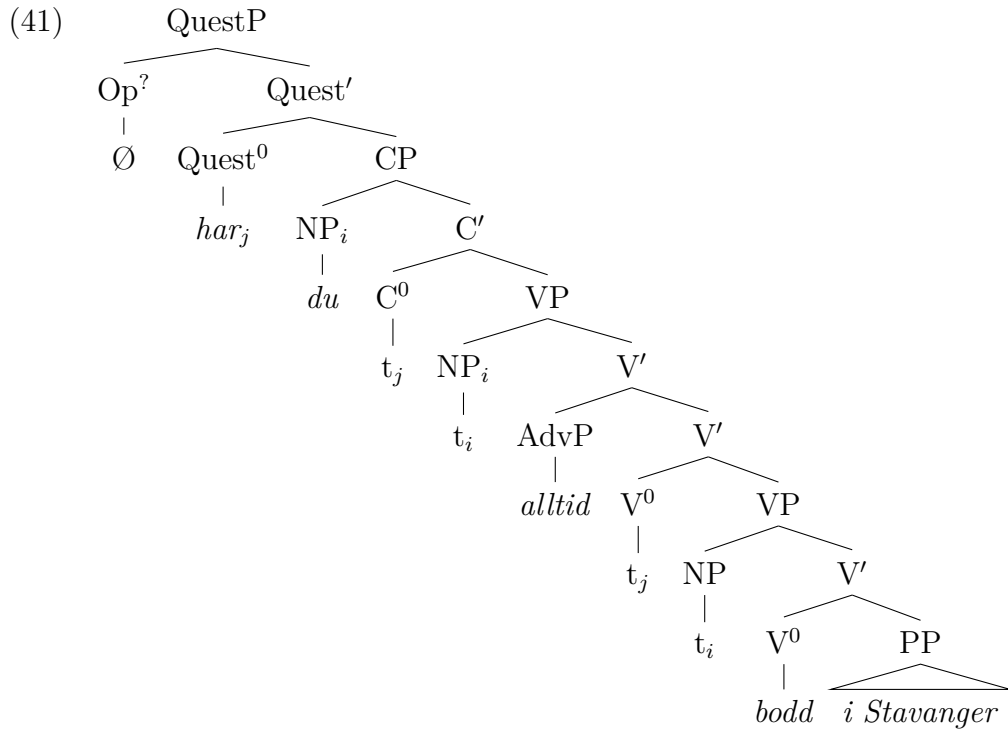
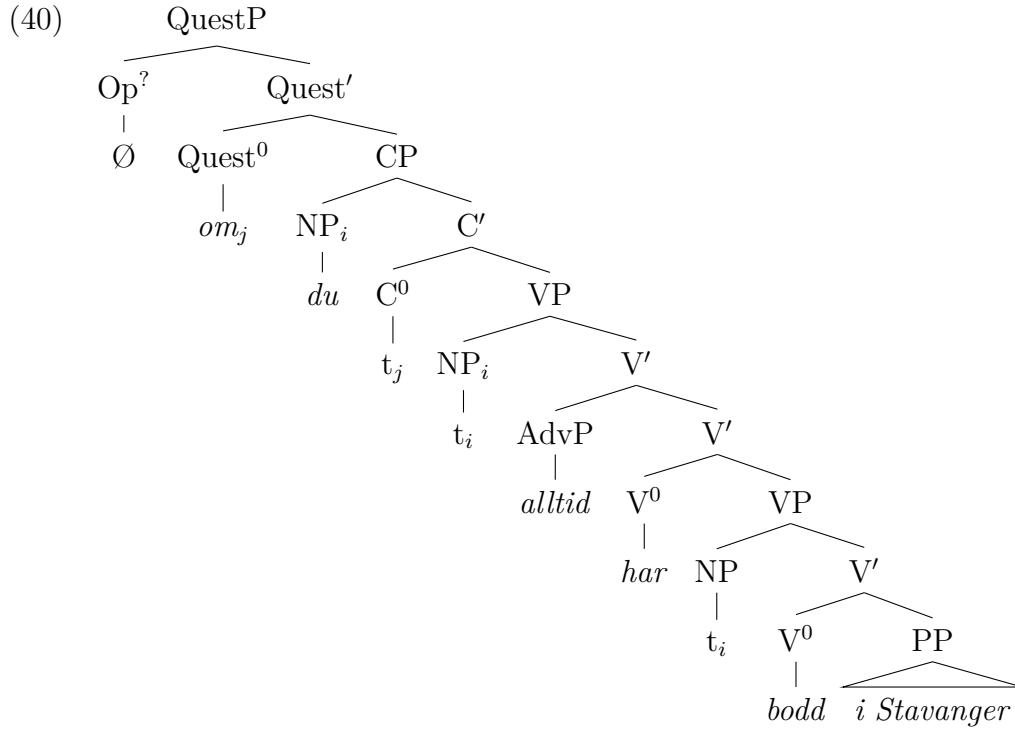
The argumental *om* [+arg] is, unlike its free counterpart, base-generated in C^0 . This means that Quest⁰ is empty, but since this position must be lexicalized, *om* moves into it, leaving a trace in C^0 that still stops the verb from moving. The structure of (37a), with the order *sentence adverb* > *finite verb*, will then be like (40) on the next page (reproduction of Vangsnes' (37) (1996, p. 182)).

In regular, inverted *yes/no*-questions without *om*, however, the finite verb will move to C^0 , and subsequently to Quest⁰, fulfilling the requirement of lexicalizing the head of QuestP. Thus the tree structure of a question like (38) will be like (41) (reproduction of Vangsnes' (32) (1996, p. 181)).

¹³Vangsnes admits that his analysis follows a somewhat unconventional structural representation, which among other things lacks the TP. He claims, however, that the explanation is independent of the specific model chosen, and that it can readily be transferred to other models of phrase structure.

- (38) *Har du alltid bodd i Stavanger?*
 have you always lived in Stavanger
 ‘Have you always lived in Stavanger?’





3.3.2 Short critique of Vangsnes (1996)

Vangsnes' solution to the problem of verb movement in *om*-questions, i.e. why the word order *finite verb* > *sentence adverb* is found in main clause *om*-questions (cf. (37b)), was to propose more syntactic structure (reminiscent of a split-CP) in main clauses, and to propose that the grammars of speakers who allow the finite verb to precede sentence adverbs generate a lexical entry for *om* that is different from the *om* generated by the grammars of speakers who do not allow the same word order (e.g. speakers of Standard Norwegian).

It is still left open by Vangsnes' analysis why the argumental *om* [+arg], which is claimed to occur only in embedded clauses (given that it must be selected by a verb that takes an *om*-clause as its argument), can still occur in main clause *om*-questions (and thus yield the word order *sentence adverb* > *finite verb*).¹⁴

Another problem with Vangsnes' account concerns the movement of subjects to Spec-CP. Vangsnes argues that the subject in *om*-questions obligatorily moves to Spec-CP (as shown in (39) and (40)) due to a general requirement of filling Spec-CP in all main clauses. To me, this movement seems unmotivated (it is, e.g., not based on feature checking). Vangsnes acknowledges this lack of motivation for movement himself, but claims that the movement of the subject to Spec-CP is “nothing more than the V2-effect” (p. 181, n.12). But we know that V2 is generally assumed to involve fronting of *any* type of constituent (adverbial, object, etc.) to the position immediately above the finite verb (i.e. Spec-CP). Following Vangsnes' line of reasoning, then (contrary to fact) any type of constituent should be able to appear between *om* and the finite verb. The reason why only subjects—and no other type of constituent—can follow *om* in *om*-questions, Vangsnes suggests, is the fact that topicalization is impossible in regular *yes/no*-questions, cf. the ill-formedness of (42) (reproduction of Vangsnes' example (33), p. 181).

¹⁴Although it is not explicitly stated in the paper, I assume that Vangsnes takes the QuestP to be present only in the grammars of speakers who produce main clause *om*-questions (i.e. in the Rogaland dialects), and that CP is the topmost projection in regular *yes/no*-questions in Standard Norwegian (as he illustrates in the tree in (30) on page 179). If not, then *om*-questions should be possible also in Standard Norwegian, following Vangsnes' claim that the observed word order *sentence adverb* > *finite verb* in *om*-questions (cf. (37)) is due to the argumental *om* [+arg] that is merged in C⁰.

- (42) **Har i Stavanger du alltid bodd?*
 have in Stavanger you always lived
 INTENDED: ‘Have you always lived in Stavanger?’

From this he concludes that only subjects can move to Spec-CP in both regular *yes/no*-questions and *om*-questions, and that they do so obligatorily (again, due to the V2 effect). The impossibility of moving the subject further up to Spec-QuestP is due to Spec-QuestP being occupied by the invisible interrogative operator (Op?).

However, I find the argument outlined above slightly problematic. First, Vangsnes shows that in regular, inverted main clause *yes/no*-questions (lacking QuestP) Spec-CP is empty (p. 179, he does not say anything about what might be located in Spec-CP in these sentences). Then, he takes exactly the same structure, adds a QuestP on top, and moves the subject to Spec-CP and the finite verb to Quest⁰ (cf. (41)). Now we are left with the same problem: Why did the subject move to Spec-CP? In Vangsnes’ account, the answer would be the V2 effect. But this seems to go against his own argument, as he has just showed that *yes/no*-questions like (38) lack movement to Spec-CP.

In short, Vangsnes’ argument rests on the V2 effect in explaining why Spec-CP must be filled in main clauses, but mentions *yes/no*-questions as an exception to this effect (having V1 word order). He then turns to the V2 effect as an explanation for V2 in a structure he has just presented as an exception to the same effect.

I will return to the questions raised above in chapter 6. I will claim that the different word orders with respect to the finite verb and sentence adverbs in *om*-questions are not due to *om* being generated in different positions in the CP-domain, but rather a result of (the lack of) V⁰-to-T⁰ movement, or perhaps due to different adjunction sites for sentence adverbs. I will also claim that regular *yes/no*-questions lack the extra QuestP, and that subjects remain in Spec-TP, the canonical subject position.

Chapter 4

Methods and material

4.1 Introduction

The present chapter marks a directional shift in the thesis, in the sense that in the following chapters I will briefly depart from previous works, and shift focus to my own, new data. Some of these data reveal word order phenomena not previously described in the literature, and others shed new light on known phenomena, thus making possible new analyses of old material. In this chapter I will present the different types of data that make up the empirical basis of the subsequent chapters, and the various methods used to collect them.

The process of obtaining new data has usually proceeded as follows. Being a native speaker of a Rogaland dialect (Stavanger), I have had an intuition about some construction, say, the syntactic well-formedness of non-V2 constituent questions introduced by a complex *wh*-phrase. To confirm my intuition, I have searched for empirical evidence of the same construction in other sources: In corpora (particularly speech corpora), in other native speakers (through their acceptability judgments), and on the World Wide Web (through Web search engines). All of these sources belong in what Schütze (2011) calls “the linguist’s toolbox”, and the course of this data hunting can be illustrated as in figure 4.1 on the following page.

If an introspective intuition has been (i) confirmed by findings in corpora; (ii) judged acceptable by other speakers; and (iii) confirmed by written material on the Web, we have converging evidence of several kinds, which is the ideal. As Schütze

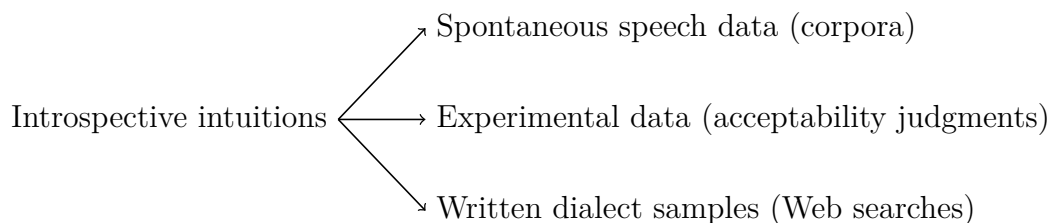


Figure 4.1: The linguist’s toolbox

emphasizes, “... the strongest results will emerge when the application of multiple research methods points to the same conclusion” (2011, p. 218). In some cases I have found empirical support in all sources, in other cases only in some. Empirical support of more than one kind is still far better than relying on one kind of data only, and should be striven for.

A great part of the data used in this thesis originates from the Scandinavian Dialect Syntax (ScanDiaSyn) project, a collaboration between individual research groups at ten universities in the Nordic countries, which is the first systematic, detailed investigation into the syntax of the dialects of all the Nordic languages. The Norwegian Dialect Syntax (NorDiaSyn) project, the Norwegian branch of ScanDiaSyn, is currently nearing completion and covers 122 carefully chosen geographical measuring points all across Norway, which makes it the most extensive and systematic collection of Norwegian dialect data in modern history since the legendary dialectologist Ivar Aasen’s pioneering work in the 1840s. The data collected by the NorDiaSyn project consist of two main types—spoken language data and acceptability judgments—and have resulted in two different research tools available to linguists: the Nordic Dialect Corpus and the Nordic Syntactic Judgment Database. A more elaborate account of these will be given in section 4.4 and 4.5, respectively.

All data collection in Rogaland for the Nordic Dialect Corpus and the Nordic Syntactic Judgment Database was undertaken in the course of three excursions during the fall of 2008, and as a research assistant on the ScanDiaSyn project I participated on all of them, visiting every measuring point. Meeting the informants,

carrying out the interviews with them, and asking for their syntactic judgments proved a valuable experience, as it gave me first-hand knowledge of the data that I have later made use of in the present work.

In the next section I will give some background information regarding Rogaland and the dialects spoken there. The four different data sources (introspection, corpora, acceptability judgments, and Web searches) and the material they supply will be presented and discussed in turn in sections 4.3, 4.4, 4.5, and 4.6.

4.2 The Rogaland dialects: some background information

Rogaland is one of Norway's nineteen counties, and is located on the southwest coast, as shown in figure 4.2a on the next page. Its largest city and administrative center is Stavanger, the third largest city in Norway, with a conurbation population of approximately 190 000. As of October 1st, 2010, the total population of Rogaland county exceeded 434 000¹, which makes it the fourth largest county in Norway measured by the number of inhabitants—a number that ultimately represents a significant amount of dialect speakers. By comparison, a related and much studied language like Icelandic has roughly 300 000 native speakers.

Of course one cannot say that the number of inhabitants within a certain geographical area equals the number of speakers of one and the same dialect or language—the population of Rogaland is not a homogeneous group in terms of internalized grammars; this is the case of any territory, whatever its size. A dialect must necessarily be defined on the basis of an increasingly small section of a continuum of grammars, the smallest entity being an idiolect—the grammar of one single speaker. I have chosen the county as a whole because it naturally delimits itself (being an administrative unit) and is easily recognizable, but the notion of *one* Rogaland dialect is at best an inaccurate term, hence the plural *s* in *dialects* in the title, without any further specification as to which these dialects may be.

As will be apparent from the next chapters, not every syntactical phenomenon discussed is attested in every dialect spoken in Rogaland (i.e. at every measuring

¹Source: Statistics Norway, see <http://www.ssb.no>

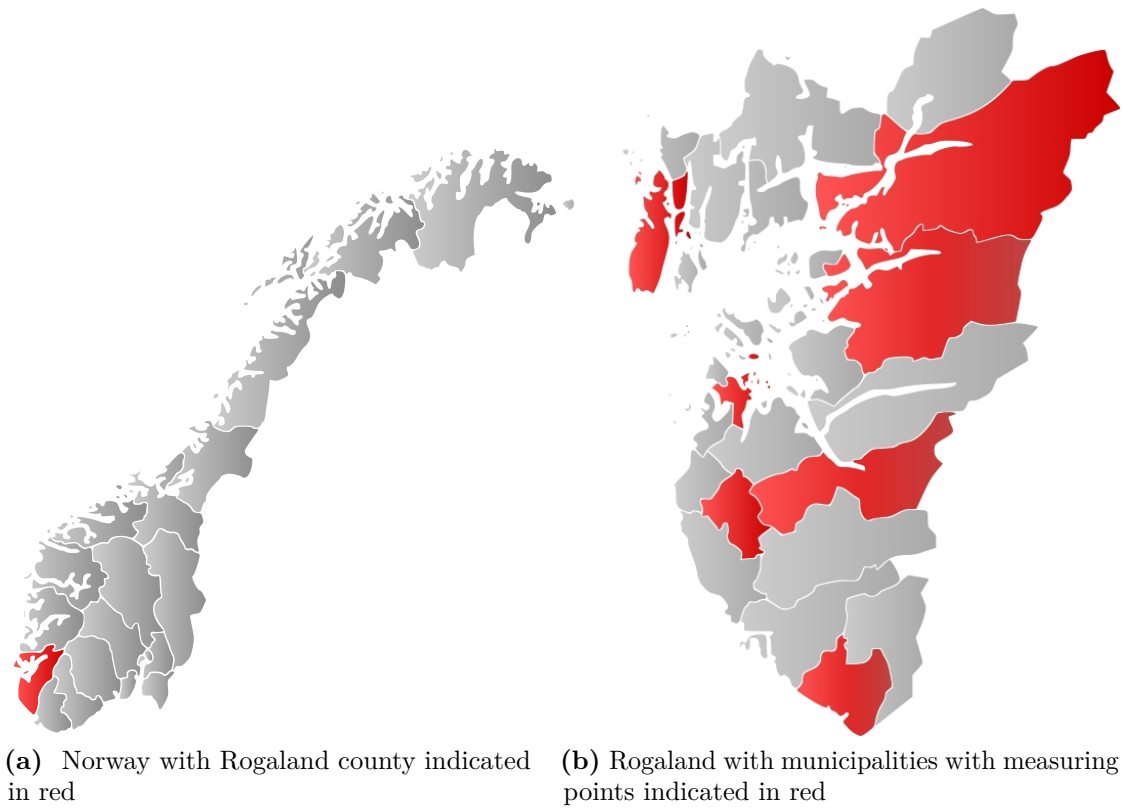


Figure 4.2: Maps of Norway and Rogaland

point). However, there are certain patterns of structural properties that can be manifested, which in turn can help draw isoglosses, i.e. lines on a map that indicate differences between dialects in their attestation of some linguistic phenomenon.

4.3 Dialect data: introspection

Relying on introspection² as the *sole* source of data has been common practice amongst generative grammarians at least since the 1960s, much under the influence of Chomsky, who clearly advocated its value and legitimacy in the study of linguistic

²By ‘introspection’ I mean the linguist’s own sentence acceptability judgments, as opposed to judgments given by informants (see section 4.5).

competence (see, e.g., Chomsky 1965, pp. 18–20). The use of introspective data has also been strongly defended in more recent times, e.g. by Newmeyer (1983, especially chapter 2), who goes as far as claiming that introspection is “the *most reliable* source of data” (p. 50, his italics) and that “there does not exist at present an obvious replacement for introspective data” (p. 63).

There are, however, numerous hazards associated with the use of introspection as a method in linguistic research. It has been criticized from many quarters (e.g. Labov 1972, 1975, 1996; Sampson 2001), including from within the generative camp itself: Schütze (1996) stresses the low reliability of data from acceptability judgments in general, much due to a lack of standardized methodological techniques typical of psychological experiments, and points out that “[p]erhaps worst of all, often the only subject in these pseudoexperiments is none other than the theorist himself” (p. 4). Schütze agrees with Labov in his “painfully obvious conclusion—obvious at least to those outside linguistics—that linguists cannot continue to produce theory and data at the same time” (Labov 1972, p. 199), and raises the legitimate question: “What is to stop linguists from (knowingly or unknowingly) manipulating the introspection process to substantiate their own theories?” (Schütze 1996, p. 5) Later in the same work Schütze goes to greater lengths to achieve methodological rigor, and suggests that “... the investigating linguists’ own intuitions are *never* counted as evidence, even if their data have not been disputed” (1996, p. 200, his italics).

Similar objections are found in Johannessen (2003, p. 139), who regards introspection as highly problematic from a scientific point of view. She lists six points on which the method fails, namely (i) that it is impossible for other researchers to verify the data; (ii) it is pointless to argue against the accuracy of the data as, strictly speaking, it is the researcher’s own idiolect that is their source; (iii) it is hard to predict to what degree hypotheses and theories built on introspective data may be generally applicable; (iv) researchers tend to be biased in their evaluation of the data due to their theoretical standpoint; (v) many people (even linguists) have a distorted conception of their own actual language usage; (vi) due to the lack of external input, one may overlook other relevant data.

I will, to the extent possible, refrain from using myself as an informant and my own intuitions as the sole source of data in the present work. But I will,

despite the above-mentioned shortcomings, still maintain that my being born and reared in Stavanger—and as such a native speaker of the dialect—has given me important qualifications when it comes to acquaintance with existent word order phenomena in the Rogaland dialects. My intuitions have thus served as clues as to what kind of constructions to search for, in corpora and elsewhere, and even as a means of control, against which to compare, when encountering data in the corpus, making sure they are not obvious speech errors, cut-off utterances etc. All in all, I have benefited from a favorable combination of myself as a linguist on the one hand, and as a native dialect speaker on the other, when searching for data. Although the data are in principle accessible to all, simply knowing what to look for, or what may be of syntactic interest, is not necessarily obvious to non-native speakers or non-linguists. In this regard introspection is a useful tool, at least as an idea-sparking device. This use is in agreement with Schütze (1996), who acknowledges that “[o]f course, linguists’ intuitions will always be used to inspire theoretical work; I merely wish to exclude them from the verification of data” (p. 200, n.21).

In addition to the above use, I will turn to my own intuitions for acceptability judgments on some occasions in the following chapters. I will claim that some sentences are acceptable and some are not, even though no judgments other than mine are available. This is almost inevitable when it comes to specific, perhaps infrequent, constructions that are not contained within any corpus, and particularly constructions that, for whatever reasons, have not been tested on any informants (i.e. are not covered by the Nordic Syntactic Judgment Database or my own questionnaires, see sections 4.5.1 and 4.5.2). However, this mostly applies to ill-formed examples with negative judgments of the uncontroversial sort, e.g. that postverbal subjects are disallowed in *om*-questions (see section 6.2) and in a subset of *wh*-questions (see section 5.3)—constructions that are neither found nor expected to be found in any corpus, no matter its size. So in those cases where a sentence is starred out or marked as dubious, and no negative data from the Nordic Syntactic Judgment Database or my own questionnaires are explicitly referred to, the judgment is my own. Admittedly, this occasional reliance on introspective data is a potential methodological weakness, although not a major one. By and large, my own judgments do not constitute a major part of the empirical basis.

4.4 Dialect data: corpora

A corpus is a collection of language that has been systematically collected for linguistic study. There are traditionally two main types: text corpora and speech corpora.³ Text corpora may consist of samples from fiction, historical documents, newspapers etc., and are usually considerably larger than speech corpora in terms of total number of words, due to the relative ease of collection of written material and the lack of need of transcription. My main source of data in this thesis, however, is speech corpora, which consist of transcriptions of audio recordings of spoken language. The recordings may be made specifically for the purpose of linguistic research (as is the case for the Nordic Dialect Corpus, see section 4.4.1), or radio or television broadcasts or any other form of speech made without any research in mind, but nevertheless useful for researchers (as is the case for the Big Brother Corpus, see section 4.4.2). The main advantage of speech corpora is that they can contain language that is produced spontaneously, i.e. without conscious considerations by the speakers concerning the form and structure of their utterances. Although being aware that they are being recorded, the speakers' "(meta)linguistic awareness" during free conversation is not as dominant as it normally is in the production of writing, which may be carefully constructed and edited, and not least, subject to norms and prescriptive standards specific to written language. Spontaneous speech data are as such also a valuable addition to acceptability judgment data, which demand exactly the opposite from the speaker: conscious reflection and evaluation.

Another advantage of data from corpora is that they are unbiased. Unlike introspective data, they are not potentially influenced by the linguist's own theoretical stance, and unlike acceptability judgments, they are not subject to the experimenter effect, i.e. bias induced by the researcher. Spontaneous speech data contain sequences of words that the speakers were never asked to produce or reflect upon—and are as such unique.

As pointed out by Schütze (2011), using a corpus may allow us to show that constructions that are seemingly ill-formed when detached from context are in fact

³The World Wide Web itself may also be regarded as a corpus. The Web as a resource of language data is treated in section 4.6.

produced and natural-sounding in a given conversation, and to study phenomena which are not immediately testable with isolated sentences. This becomes particularly clear when studying the constituent questions in which the *wh*-phrase is immediately followed by either of the sentence adverbs *nå* ‘now’ and *då* ‘then’, which always have sentence-external, anaphoric reference (see section 5.3), and when studying issues related to information structure, e.g. the correlation between informationally new or informationally given subjects and the use of V2 or non-V2 in *wh*-questions, as proposed by Marit Westergaard (2003, 2009).

Scientifically speaking, employing corpora also has the general advantage that empirical evidence can be checked and verified by anyone interested. A corpus is an open, shared resource, with a constant body of data (albeit growing). In contrast to intuitions, diary notes or other random observations, search hits from a corpus are reproducible.

Most of the examples I will use come from the Nordic Dialect Corpus (described below in 4.4.1), but occasionally I will give examples found in other corpora, more specifically the Big Brother Corpus and the NoTa-Oslo Corpus (described in 4.4.2). All of them are in electronic form, i.e. they are in the form of a searchable database, and all are morphologically or grammatically tagged, which means one can search not only for strings of words, but for structural configurations. This has proved to be a valuable option when searching for, say, a *wh*-word followed by a noun and a verb, in that particular order, without further specification (see figure 4.4 on page 62 for a similar example).

4.4.1 The Nordic Dialect Corpus

The Nordic Dialect Corpus (sometimes referred to as the Scandinavian Dialect Corpus), henceforth NDC, is a corpus consisting of Danish, Faroese, Icelandic, Norwegian, Swedish, and Övdalian (and soon Finland Swedish) spoken language. The Norwegian part of the corpus—the NorDiaSyn project (Norwegian Dialect Syntax)—contains transcribed recordings of interviews and conversations between dialect speakers from more than one hundred measuring points across Norway. Most of the recordings were made during the period 2007–2010.

There are a total of seven measuring points in Rogaland county in the corpus.

These are—ordered from north to south—the municipalities of Suldal, Karmøy, Hjelmeland, Stavanger, Gjesdal, Time, and Sokndal. See figure 4.2b on page 54 for a map of Rogaland showing the municipalities that have been chosen as measuring points, and figure 4.3 on the next page for a more detailed map with the measuring points indicated.

There are four informants for every measuring point: two from each of two age groups (younger, age 15–30, and older, age 50 and above), and two of each sex. Apart from these two variables, the informants have been selected on the basis of a set of criteria, namely (i) they should be born and raised on the locality chosen as measuring point, (ii) they should not have lived more than seven years in total away from home (i.e. the measuring point), neither in connection with work nor education, and (iii) preferably have no higher education due to risk of exposure to “academic language” and mixed language environments typically present at universities and the like.

Every informant has his or her own code, consisting of the name of the measuring point typed in lower case, followed by an underscore and a two-digit number from 01 to 04 combined with a belonging two-letter abbreviation indicating age group and sex.⁴ So for instance the female informant from Time from the younger age group has the informant code *time_02uk*. These codes will be provided here along with any examples from the NDC.

The speech data in the NDC are of two main types: interviews and conversations. The interviews were performed by a researcher with one informant at a time, and usually lasted 10–15 minutes. The researcher’s aim during the interviews was to speak as little as possible, and simply ask short questions so that the informant could talk and elaborate as much as possible. The conversations were between two informants of the same age group, and typically of 20–30 minutes duration. During the recording of the conversations the researchers would leave the room, so that the informants could enjoy a conversation as free as possible, without interruptions or a feeling of “being watched”. The informants were provided with a list of suggestions of topics of conversation, in case they were unsure of what to talk about. The only restriction laid upon the informants was that they should avoid sensitive

⁴The abbreviations are: 01um = *ung mann* ‘young male’; 02uk = *ung kvinne* ‘young female’; 03gm = *gammel mann* ‘old male’; 04gk = *gammel kvinne* ‘old female’

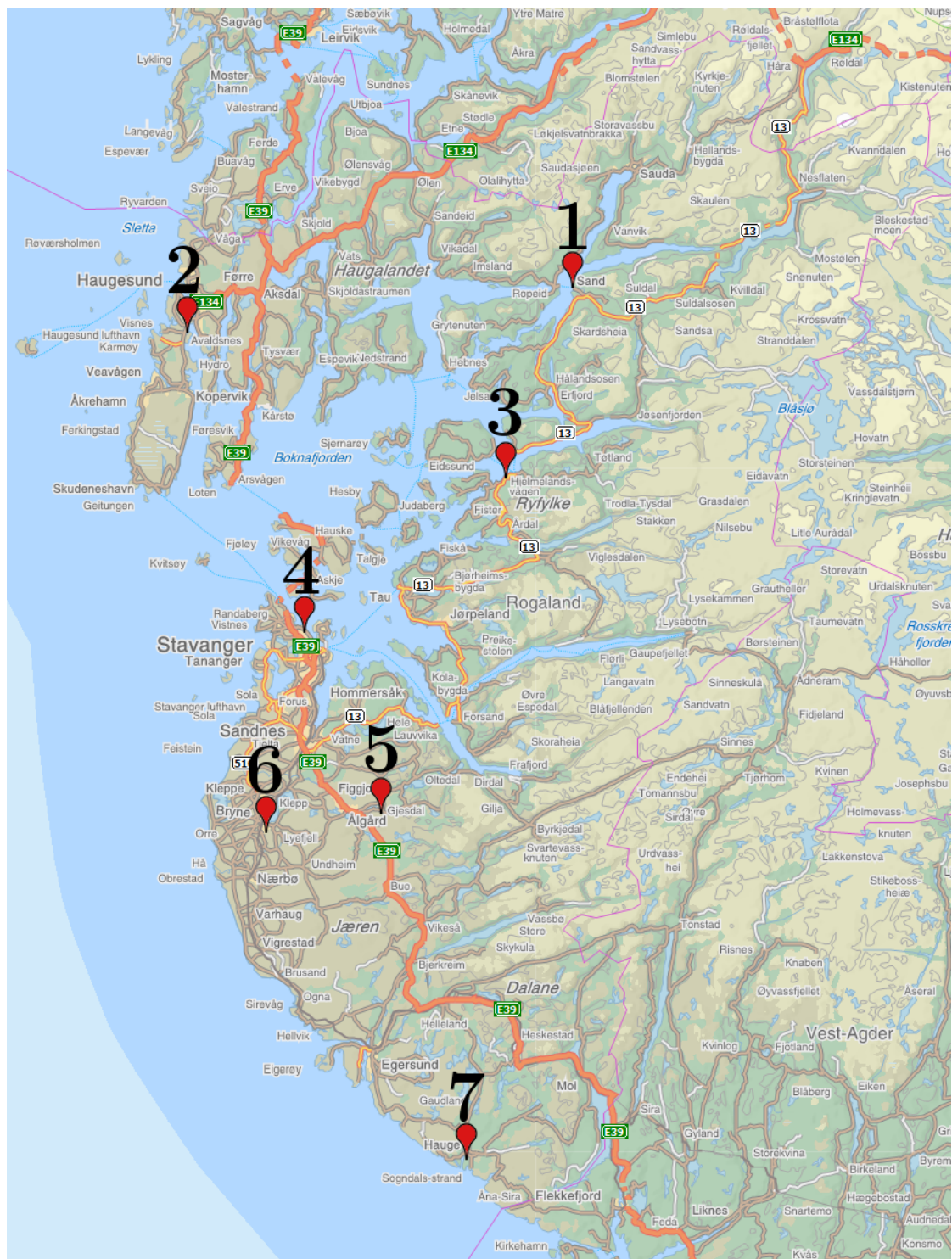


Figure 4.3: Map showing the measuring points in Rogaland: 1 Suldal (Sand); 2 Karmøy (Avaldsnes); 3 Hjelmeland (Hjelmelandsvågen); 4 Stavanger (Stavanger); 5 Gjesdal (Ålgård); 6 Time (Bryne); 7 Sokndal (Hauge i Dalane)

information such as death and personal illness, political affiliation, religious views, any criminal acts they may have committed, and so forth, due to the guidelines given by the Norwegian Social Science Data Services.

The NDC is available online and searchable in many ways. As previously mentioned, one may search for strings of parts of speech such as verbs, nouns, etc. This is possible thanks to grammatical tagging of every word in the corpus (which of course is not 100% error free). A screenshot of the search interface of the NDC is shown in figure 4.4 on the following page. In the screenshot I have selected a sequence of three words, with the following, additional search criteria: The lemma for the first word must begin with *hv* ‘wh’, the second must be an adverb, and the third a noun or a pronoun. In this way I should in theory be able to capture all instances of the V4 constructions presented in section 5.3 present in the corpus.

As seen in figure 4.5, the search results can be returned in both orthographic and a more phonetic-like transcription. In my reproduction of material from the NDC (and every other example of Rogaland dialect) I have chosen neither of them, but rather made a compromise between the two, and decided on a hybrid spelling that resembles the way people write in dialect on the Web etc. I have done this partly for increased legibility, and partly because of errors in the transcription in the corpus (revealed by watching the video and hearing the actual sequences). Regardless of choice of notation, it is the sound files that are the primary sources; the transcriptions are secondary.

From figure 4.5, which shows the results from a search with the criteria selected in figure 4.4, it is also evident that not all instances of the construction intended to search for can be immediately found through the search interface; the corpus actually contains more occurrences of the sequence *wh-word > adverb > noun/pronoun* than are listed in the concordance. I know this because I have listened through entire conversations—in fact I have found most of the examples listening to the recordings in full. This mismatch between actual occurrences of a phenomenon in the corpus and the results from a search is more a weakness of the transcriptions or the grammatical tagging, than of the corpus itself.

For additional information about the NDC and how to search the corpus, see Johannessen et al. (2009) and the ScanDiaSyn home page (<http://www.tekstlab.uio.no/nota/scandiasyn/index.html>).

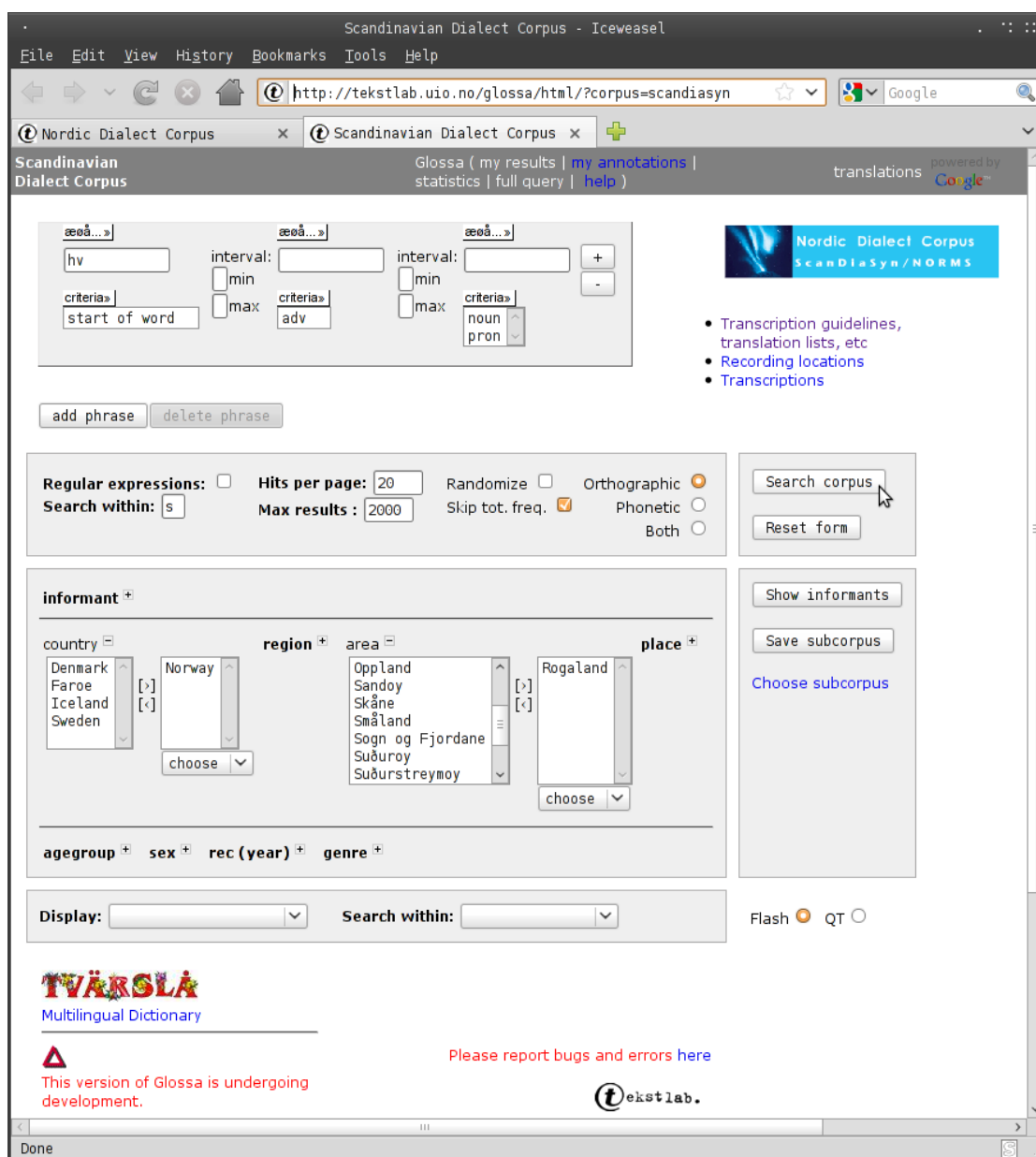


Figure 4.4: Screenshot of the NDC search interface

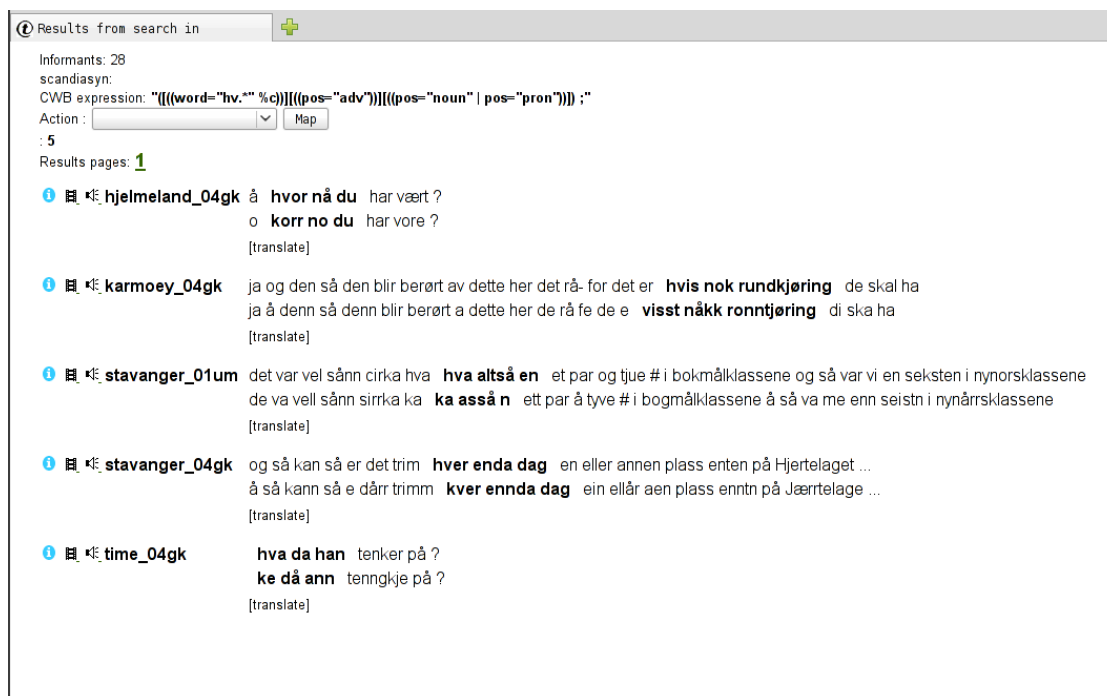


Figure 4.5: Screenshot of concordance from the NDC

4.4.2 Other speech corpora

On a very few occasions I will make reference to or give examples from other corpora than the NDC, namely the Big Brother Corpus and the NoTa-Oslo Corpus. Both have a similar search interface as the NDC. Examples from these corpora will be used either when I wish to illustrate facts of Norwegian in general with speech data (in those cases where the NDC has not contained the relevant examples due to its limited amount of data), or when I wish to show that a construction exists in other dialects (the NDC does not contain any data from Oslo).

The Big Brother Corpus (abbreviated BBC) is a speech corpus based on the first season of the Norwegian *Big Brother* series, a reality television show. It consists of transcriptions of the nearly one hundred episodes aired in Norway in 2001. See <http://www.tekstlab.uio.no/nota/bigbrother/> for more information on this corpus.

The NoTa-Oslo Corpus (abbreviated NOC) consists of interviews and conversations with informants from the Oslo area, and resembles the NDC in form. The recordings were made from 2004–2006. See Johannessen and Hagen (2008) and the corpus’ homepage (<http://www.tekstlab.uio.no/nota/oslo/index.html>) for further information.

4.5 Dialect data: acceptability judgments

What is the greatest disadvantage of corpora, is at the same time the greatest advantage of acceptability judgments: negative data. Needless to say, even the largest corpus does not contain all possible grammatical constructions or sentences in a language. But of course the non-occurrence of a particular construction does not necessarily imply that the construction is unacceptable to the same speakers whose utterances make up the corpus. In this respect acceptability judgments are useful, because they—in contrast to spontaneous usage data found in speech corpora—can give information as to which sentences in a language or dialect are ill-formed. The importance of knowing which sentences are ill-formed cannot be underestimated, if we are to follow Chomsky (2002 [1957], p. 2, *his italics*): “The fundamental aim in the linguistic analysis of a language L is to separate the *grammatical* sequences which are the sentences of L from the *ungrammatical* sequences which are not sentences of L and to study the structure of the grammatical sequences.” As the mental grammar of a language is believed to generate grammatical sequences only (still following Chomsky), we need negative data in order to delineate the limits of its possible products. One way of achieving them is through acceptability judgments.⁵

In addition to negative data, acceptability judgments have the advantage that

⁵I will follow Schütze (2011, p. 208) on the terminological issue of *acceptability* versus *grammaticality*, and avoid using the terms *grammatical* and *ungrammatical* when referring to the status of a sentence as well-/ill-formed according to speakers (myself included) asked to give their judgments of the sentence. This is in line with Chomsky (1965), who separates the two:

The notion “acceptable” is not to be confused with “grammatical.” Acceptability is a concept that belongs to the study of performance, whereas grammaticalness belongs to the study of competence. Chomsky (1965, p. 11)

they allow for investigations of the exact phenomenon that the linguist may happen to be interested in. A certain (grammatical) construction of interest may never be found in any corpus due to mere coincidence, the nature of the corpus, or perhaps the low frequency of the construction in general. In fact, it may never be produced by any speaker at all. Many syntactically interesting phenomena are very rare, and the linguist may very well be interested in subtle distinctions between marginally different constructions, and in these situations he or she must make use of acceptability judgments.

An acceptability judgment task is a form of experiment in which native speakers are presented to a sentence with a particular word order (and an intended interpretation), and explicitly asked to which degree this sentence is acceptable in their language. That is, they are asked to give a conscious, metalinguistic assessment. So in reality, speakers are asked to report their intuitions (a matter discussed in depth in Schütze, 1996). In this sense, data from acceptability judgments are similar to those that stem from introspection, and as such subject to some of the critique raised against introspective data, as discussed in section 4.3. But unlike the theory-producing linguist, the naive informants involved in syntactic judgment tasks are not influenced by any theoretical standpoint, i.e. their judgments are (ideally) unbiased. This is (in addition to the higher number of subjects involved and thus higher generalizability) the most obvious advantage of using informants rather than oneself as a source of data, the ideal being a double-blind experiment. In most cases, however, it is the linguist himself who presents the sentences to the informants, and interprets the answers and reactions that they give. So, as remarked by Labov (1975, p. 29), “[a]sking for an introspective judgment about a sentence’s acceptability is an experiment, though a poorly controlled one, and it is of course subject to the experimenter effect.” The linguist performing the experiment may, willingly or not, have an effect on its outcome.

So far I have considered some of the pros and cons associated with syntactic acceptability judgments. There are other disadvantages, however, and to use Labov’s (1975, p. 32) words, “[w]e have not yet considered the most damaging body of evidence on the weakness of intuitive data, which arises whenever we compare intuitive judgments to the actual use of language in everyday life.” My experience after collecting judgment data for the Norwegian Syntactic Judgment Database

(cf. subsection 4.5.1) is that informants—or rather the informants’ judgments—are notoriously unstable and unreliable, and that there is a considerable mismatch between judgments and actual usage. Let me illustrate with a few examples from the fieldwork in Rogaland. One of the female informants from the older age group, when presented to recordings of *om*-questions and afterwards asked upon whether these were acceptable ways of forming questions in her dialect, systematically rejected them and claimed she did not use this type of construction. Fortunately, we had just overheard her asking questions starting with *om* talking with the receptionist in the City Hall where we were going to make our recordings. Just a few minutes after we had met, she had already used several *om*-questions, indicating that even highly frequent forms are no exception to the contradiction between intuitions and behavior. Of course we could not resist telling her what we had heard minutes before, and she subsequently changed her mind and accepted the test sentences, going from one end of the acceptability scale to the other (which, moreover, is a vivid example of the experimenter effect at its worst). The video material also shows that she went on to produce *om*-questions spontaneously in the conversation recorded after the judgment tasks.

Another informant in Rogaland rejected some of the *wh*-questions with V3 word order (*Ka du hette?* and *Kor du jobbe hen?*) in the judgment task, but when asked to specify on what grounds she found them unacceptable, she said, “Because they sound rude.” She, too, went on to produce the very same type of V3 constructions in the conversation afterwards (in utterances that can be found in the NDC). This rejection of a form on the basis of its alleged offensive character is clearly not the kind of judgment sought by syntacticians. It is well-known that speakers’ self reports will understate their use of socially stigmatized forms, cf. Labov (1975, p. 33), but the social status or markedness of *om*-questions and non-V2 *wh*-questions is not clear. What is clear, however, is that they violate the norms of the official written standards Bokmål and Nynorsk, and that they are not attested in writing conforming to these standards. Hence the judgments may be influenced by these factors.

The stories above have repeated themselves many times, even with linguists, and are similar to the findings reported by Labov (1972, 1975, 1996): Speakers deny use of a certain construction, while data from actual usage show that they

actually do use it.

Positive judgments (i.e. sentences that are judged acceptable), on the other hand, cannot be “disproved” by naturally occurring data in the same way as negative ones. Obviously, positive judgments can be confirmed by actual language usage, but any discrepancy between intuitions and performance cannot be as easily detected, as no negative data are available in corpora. There is therefore no reason to rely more on positive judgments than negative, insofar as the former are not supported by converging evidence from spontaneous speech.

Any acceptability judgments used as empirical support in the following chapters are found in the Nordic Syntactic Judgment Database (see subsection 4.5.1 below), except a limited set of sentences that I collected for personal use (see subsection 4.5.2). But for the reasons explained above I will not make any claims relying solely on acceptability judgment data in the remainder of the thesis. In my opinion, one should be extremely cautious when dealing with judgment data, and be careful not to put too much trust in them, especially not single judgments in isolation. On a larger scale, however, they tend to give more solid and trustworthy results.

To illustrate, I have included a map from the Nordic Syntactic Judgment Database, showing the results of the judgments of the *om*-question *Om du har vært i Tromsø?* ‘Have you been to Tromsø?’ in figure 4.6 on the next page. In the figure the black markers show the measuring points where the sentence got a mean score of 1–2 (i.e. unacceptable), and the white markers where it got a mean score of 4–5 (i.e. acceptable). Clearly this gives the right picture; the negative data show that *om*-questions are considered ill-formed in the vast majority of Norway (there are only black markers in the northernmost part of the country missing in the map).

4.5.1 The Nordic Syntactic Judgment Database

The Nordic Syntactic Judgment Database (sometimes referred to as the Nordic Dialect Database, see Lindstad et al. 2009), henceforth NSJD, is a searchable database available online consisting of acceptability judgments of roughly 140 sentences involving different syntactic phenomena from around 500 informants from the Nordic countries.

Importantly, the measuring points and the informants used in the NSJD are

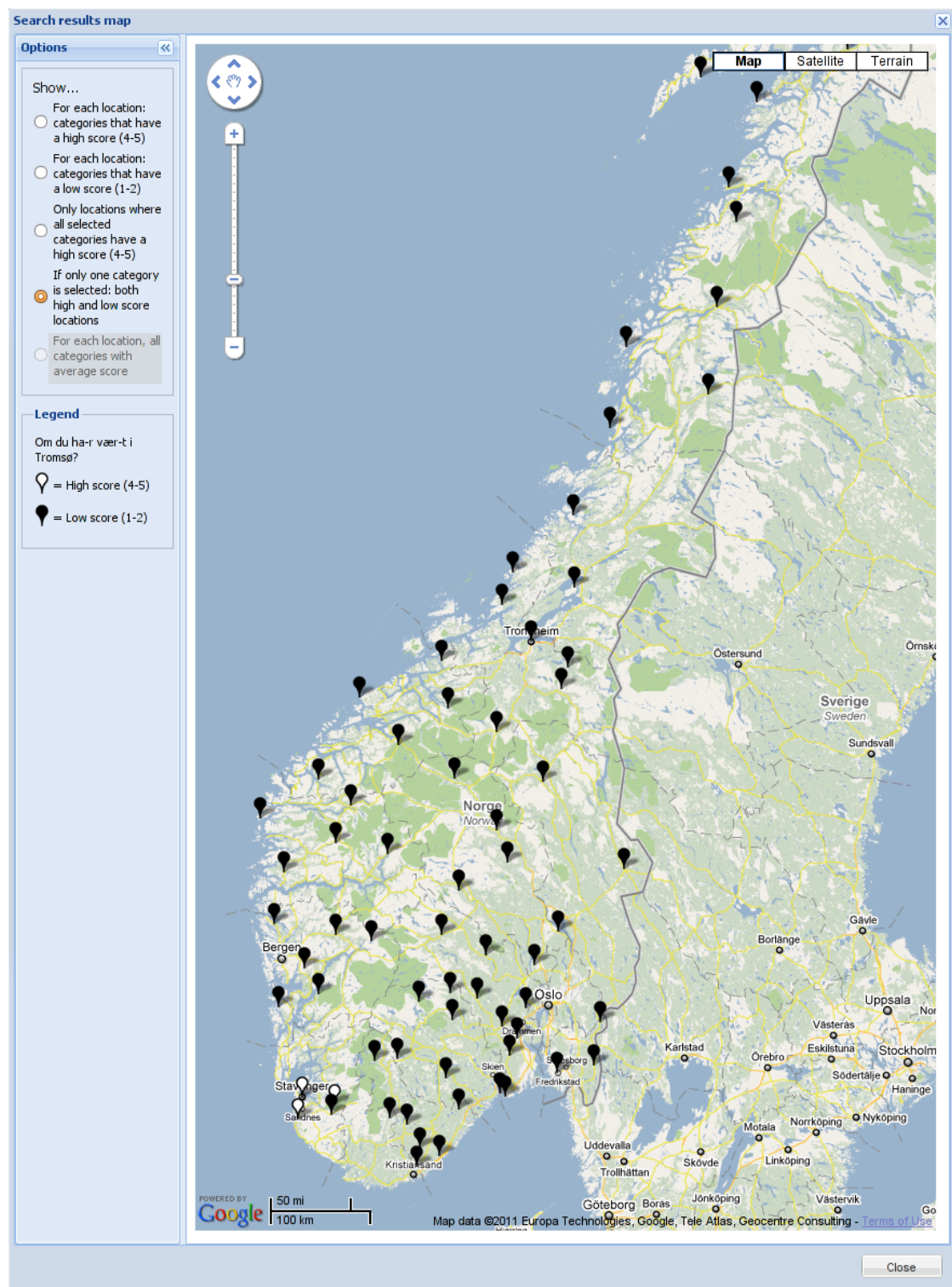


Figure 4.6: Map from the NSJD showing acceptability judgments of *Om du har vært i Tromsø?* ‘Have you been to Tromsø?’. Notice the white markers in Rogaland.

the same as the ones in the NDC (see subsection 4.4.1), and the judgments and the recordings were collected on the same occasions. In this respect the acceptability data from the NSJD and the speech data from the NDC are comparable, as they represent performance from the same speakers.

The acceptability judgments were collected as follows. Informants met either one or two at a time with two researchers. Pre-recorded sentences (recorded in the local dialect by a native speaker) were played out loud to the informants from a laptop computer. The informants were then asked to give their response to the sentences, and to give them grades from 1 to 5 on a Likert-like scale, where 1 is worst (totally unacceptable) and 5 is best (fully acceptable). The researchers then noted the grades on a sheet of paper or on a laptop. The informants were allowed to hear the sentences as many times as they wanted, and they were told in advance that there was no “right answer” as to the grammatical status of the sentences; only the native speakers themselves could give the answer. The whole session lasted typically 1–1.5 hours.

The results from the judgments of the sentences relevant to this thesis (i.e. the ones relating to word order in questions) are given in table 5.1 on page 78 (*wh*-questions) and table 6.1 on page 126 (*om*-questions). A complete list of the acceptability judgment data from Rogaland for sentences involving questions in the NSJD can be found in appendix B on page 153. See the Web site for the ScanDiaSyn project (<http://www.tekstlab.uio.no/nota/scandiasyn/index.html>) for more information on the NSJD and to search the database.

4.5.2 Additional questionnaire

In connection with the data collection for the NSJD, I was given the opportunity to present my own mini-questionnaire, consisting of four sentences of my own, personal choice. These were played to the informants in addition to the sentences contained within the battery of the NSJD, and blended in with the rest, thus the collecting procedure was identical to the one described in 4.5.1. The four sentences are given in (43), and the results of the informants’ judgments of them (i.e. the mean scores—all single scores are listed in appendix B) are shown in table 4.1 on the next page.

Table 4.1: Additional acceptability judgment data from Rogaland, showing mean scores on a scale from 1 (worst) to 5 (best).

test sentence / measuring point	Gjesdal	Hjelmeland	Karmøy
<i>Om du alltid har bodd i Stavanger?</i>	4.5	2	2.5
<i>Kor du jobbe hen?</i>	3	5	1
<i>Kem så ringte?</i>	4.75	3	4
<i>Ka nå så skjer?</i>	4	3	1

test sentence / measuring point	Sokndal	Stvg.	Suldal	Time ^b
<i>Om du alltid har bodd i Stavanger?</i>	3 ^a	2	1	5
<i>Kor du jobbe hen?</i>	2.5	5	1	5
<i>Kem så ringte?</i>	1	5	3 ^c	5
<i>Ka nå så skjer?</i>	1	4	1	5

^aBoth younger informants gave 5, both older gave 1.

^bOnly three informants answered the questionnaire in Time.

^cBoth younger informants gave 1, both older gave 5.

- (43) a. *Om du alltid har bodd i Stavanger?*
 if you always have lived in Stavanger
 ‘Have you always lived in Stavanger?’
- b. *Kor du jobbe hen?*
 where you work LOC
 ‘Where do you work?’
- c. *Kem så ringte?*
 who REL rang
 ‘Who called?’
- d. *Ka nå så skjer?*
 what now REL happens
 ‘What’s going on now?’

The four sentences were chosen for the following reasons. The NSJD battery contained an *om*-question with a sentence adverb following the finite verb, but none with the adverb preceding the verb as in (43a). Sentence (43b) is a non-V2 *wh*-question with a simple *wh*-adverb—the NSJD only had a *wh*-pronoun in this context. Sentence (43c) is a subject *wh*-question (already contained in the NSJD). Finally, (43d) has the sentence adverb *nå* ‘now’ immediately following the *wh*-phrase, a construction which is not at all represented in the NSJD (see chapter 5 from section 5.3 and onwards for more on this type of construction).

In retrospect, there should have been more than four extra questions. Ideally, acceptability judgments should have been collected from the same group of informants for every construction of interest, but in practice this has not been possible, partly because of limited time when we met the informants, or because the theoretical importance or interest of a specific construction appeared to me too late in the process (after the meetings with the informants were over, or all the trips to Rogaland were already completed).

Whenever no acceptability data have been available for a certain construction, I have asked fellow dialect speakers for their judgments—but not systematically. So in those cases where a sentence is starred out, and no negative data from the NSJD or my own questionnaire are explicitly referred to, the judgment is basically my own.

4.6 Dialect data: Web searches

In the next chapters I will sometimes use sentences found on the World Wide Web to illustrate certain word order phenomena. On some occasions I may use results from Web searches in addition to examples from the NDC, or, when a construction was not attested in the corpus, as the sole source of “non-introspective evidence”. My use of Web searches is purely qualitative; I will not make any claims based on the number of search hits. I will not take a search that did not return any results (i.e. the non-occurrence of a specific construction on the Web) as an indication of ill-formedness. The example sentences found on the Web are used only to confirm my own (positive) intuitions. Despite the uncertainties (some of which are mentioned below) connected to these sentences, I still think they form a

non-negligible body of empirical support.

The dialect data from Web searches were typically found searching for strings of words in double quotes (to ensure that the exact word order was retrieved) using the search engine GoogleTM. In contrast to the contents of a corpus like the NDC, the contents of the Web are not in any way grammatically tagged, which means that you can neither search for parts of speech nor lemma forms. Given that I have mostly been interested in search results written in dialect, I have had to type the words accordingly. Dialectal spelling is not always predictable, as single words may have multiple spelling options. As an example, the *wh*-word ‘why’ that in Norwegian Bokmål is written *hvorfor*, comes in at least nine flavors when written in any of the Rogaland dialects: *Korfor*, *koffor*, *koffår*, *kaffår*, *kaffor*, *kafor*, *kafår*, *kefår*, and *kefor*. Shorter words are also subject to massive orthographic variation; the negation *ikke* ‘not’ may be written as *ikkje*, *ikje*, *issje*, *isje*, *iche*, *ittje*, *itje*, *kje*, *sje*, *che*, or *tje*. In effect, this means that a seemingly simple combination such as *hvorfor ikke* ‘why not’ in principle has ninety-nine different possible spellings. Needless to say, trying out all of them clearly complicates the search process. At the same time, the disadvantage of this unpredictable and more phonetic-like spelling is a natural consequence of a greater advantage, namely that the material written in dialect resembles spoken language, and as such useful and relevant here.

It has often been claimed that a drawback of using sentences found on the Web is that one rarely knows their true origin, that is, who or what produced them. (Neither can one with certainty say anything about their grammatical status.) As discussed in Schütze (2009), any sentence found on the Web may have been produced by a non-native speaker, or, by a native speaker, but not with its intended meaning due to an error of any imaginable kind. In fact, it may not even be produced by a person, but rather automatically generated by machine translation. In short, “merely having found instances of a construction of interest should not be construed as evidence of anything ipso facto” (Schütze 2009, p. 152). The examples that I have collected on the Web, however, are taken from blogs, online discussion groups, etc, and, importantly, almost without exception accompanied with information regarding where the authors live and come from, along with other personal facts such as age and sex—information that eliminates at least the possibility of a non-native speaker or non-human origin of a sentence. I

will supply such information in a footnote for each example taken from the Web in the following chapters (to the degree such details have been available). In addition, the URLs of the Web pages from which examples are taken are numbered and listed in appendix A. Each Web example in the text is followed by its URL number in parentheses.

On the positive side, the Web provides arenas for a type of language that does not exist elsewhere: Online forums, blogs, discussion groups, social network sites, and so forth. In addition, and of particular significance here, much of its contents is written in dialect. This type of written material is to a much lesser degree subject to the before-mentioned norms and prescriptive standards specific to written language compared to writing that conforms to any of the written standards Bokmål or Nynorsk. And, as pinpointed by Schütze (2011, p. 209), “[s]ome subset of it [the material on the Web] blurs the line between traditional spoken and written language in the sense that, while it is generated from a computer keyboard, it is part of a nearly real-time conversation and undergoes minimal editing or self-correction.”

In sum, the Web can be a useful source when searching for dialect data, and to a certain degree it shares some of the properties of speech corpora (oral style, semi-spontaneous, unbiased, not produced specifically for linguistic research), its main advantages being its ease of access and vast mass of data.

Chapter 5

Non-V2 in the Rogaland dialects: *wh*-questions

5.1 Introduction

This chapter has two main goals, namely (i) to show that there is no complexity constraint on non-V2 in the Rogaland dialects, and (ii) to present and analyze the so-called “*wh*+*nå*/*då* construction”.

The chapter is organized as follows. In 5.2 I return to the complexity constraint on non-V2 discussed in 3.2.5. In 5.3 I introduce one of the central themes of my thesis: *Wh*-questions with V4 word order caused exclusively by the sentence adverbs *nå* ‘now’ and *då* ‘then’ appearing between the *wh*-phrase and the subject or the complementizer. In 5.4 different analyses of these questions are proposed.

5.2 The complexity constraint revisited

In section 3.2.5 we saw that earlier research showed that the Rogaland dialects were reported to be subject to a complexity constraint on non-V2, allowing only short *wh*-constituents in non-V2 constructions. In this section I will present new data that show that there is no constraint on non-V2 in *wh*-questions in the Rogaland dialects.

In 5.2.1 I will show that non-V2 is found with complex *wh*-constituents in

non-subject *wh*-questions, and in 5.2.2 I will demonstrate the same for subject *wh*-questions. I will revise the *wh*-grammar and the microparametric settings for Rogaland from Vangsnes (2006) (as were given in table 3.1 and table 3.3 in section 3.2.5) in 5.2.3.

5.2.1 Non-subject *wh*-questions

As shown in the examples below, which contain both excerpts of spontaneous speech data from the NDC and written dialect samples from the Web, heavy *wh*-phrases are found in non-subject questions with V3 word order with both *wh*-arguments (44) and *wh*-adjuncts (45). (I have included the construction with the monosyllabic *koss* ‘how’ in (45c) to show that given that the complexity constraint is a constraint on morphosyntactic and not phonological complexity (cf. Vangsnes 2006, pp. 196–197, see also footnote 5 on page 37), *koss* could be expected to impose a constraint on non-V2 if it is the contracted form of the complex *kossen* ‘how’.)

- (44) a. *Ke sjanger det e?*
 what genre it is
 ‘What genre is it?’ (NDC: time_02uk)
- b. *Ka stemma du har da?*
 what voice you have then
 ‘What voice do you have then?’ (NDC: suldal_02uk)
- c. *Kafforein mail du sente te?*
 which-one mail you sent to
 ‘Which email did you send to?’ (URL 1)¹
- (45) a. *Kati du blei oppringde for dette her då?*
 what-time you became rung up for this here then
 ‘When did they call you up about this then?’ (NDC: hjelmeland_01um)
- b. *Kor langt inni Tjodolvsgadå du bodde?*
 how far inside Tjodolvs-street-DEF you lived
 ‘How far into Tjodolv’s street did you live?’ (NDC: stavanger_03gm)

¹Example (44c) is taken from the discussion board on a MySpace profile and is written in dialect by a male user from Stavanger.

- c. *Koss di hadde fått tag i deg då?*
 how they had got hold in you then
 ‘How had they got hold of you then?’ (NDC: hjelmeland_02uk)
- d. *Kossen du visste d då?*
 how you knew that then
 ‘How did you know that then?’ (URL 2)²

From the examples above, I conclude that dialects spoken in Rogaland accept non-V2 with complex *wh*-phrases in non-subject *wh*-questions. Acceptability judgment data from the NSJD support this conclusion. Table 5.1 on the next page gives an overview of the acceptability scores from Rogaland for the non-V2 *wh*-questions present in the NSJD. As table 5.1 shows, the test battery included the following non-subject *wh*-question with a complex *wh*-constituent:

- (46) *Kati du gjekk ut av ungdomsskolen, då?*
 what-time you went out of youth-school-DEF then
 ‘When did you finish junior high school?’

On the scale from 1 (unacceptable) to 5 (fully acceptable), the test sentence in (46) was given a mean score of 3.25, 4.0, and 4.67 in Gjesdal, Stavanger, and Time, respectively.

Just for the sake of clarity, it is perhaps worth pointing out that I maintain that V2 is fully acceptable in non-subject *wh*-questions in the Rogaland dialects (i.e. non-V2 is “optional”). I will not give any examples of such questions with V2 word order here, but the NDC contains plenty.

5.2.2 Subject *wh*-questions

Non-V2 is also found with all sorts of complex *wh*-phrases in subject *wh*-questions, as illustrated in the following examples from the Web.

- (47) a. *Korr mange så har betalt?*
 how many REL have paid

²Example (45d) is taken from the guestbook of a member on a social networking site and is written in dialect by a twenty-one year old male from Sokndal.

Table 5.1: Judgment data from NSJD, *wh*-questions, mean scores

test sentence / measuring point	Gjesdal	Hjelmeland	Karmøy
<i>Ka du hette?</i>	5	4.5	1
<i>Kem så selge fiskeutstyr her i bygdå, då?</i>	4	2	3 ^c
<i>Ka ti du gjekk ut av ungdomsskolen, då?</i>	3.25	2	1
<i>Kor mange elever så går på denne skolen?</i>	4.5	1	2
<i>Koffår han va så sure, egentlig?</i>	3.5	1	1

test sentence / measuring point	Sokndal	Stvg.	Suldal	Time ^b
<i>Ka du hette?</i>	3 ^a	4	1	5
<i>Kem så selge fiskeutstyr her i bygdå, då?</i>	1	3	5	5
<i>Ka ti du gjekk ut av ungdomsskolen, då?</i>	1	4	1	4.67
<i>Kor mange elever så går på denne skolen?</i>	1	3	5	5
<i>Koffår han va så sure, egentlig?</i>	1.75	3.67 ^a	1.5	2.33

^aBoth younger informants gave 5, both older gave 1.

^bOnly three informants answered the questionnaire in Time.

^cBoth younger informants gave 1, both older gave 5.

‘How many have paid?’ (URL 3)³

- b. *Ka bil så e 80 senka?*
 what car REL is 80 lowered

‘Which car is lowered 80 mm?’ (URL 4)⁴

- c. *Ka faen for ein desperat fyr så hadde seg med deg?*
 what devil for a desperate guy REL had himself with
 you

‘What desperate guy slept with you?’ (URL 5)⁵

- d. *Kafforein buss så går te Amfi då?*
 which-one bus REL goes to Amfi then

‘Which bus goes to Amfi then?’ (URL 6)⁶

I thus claim that the Rogaland dialects allow non-V2 with heavy *wh*-phrases in subject *wh*-questions. This claim is supported by acceptability judgment data from the NSJD. The NSJD contains the following sentence (cf. table 5.1).

- (48) *Kor mange elever så går på denne skolen?*
 how many pupils REL go to this school-DEF
 ‘How many pupils go to this school?’

The test sentence in (48) was given a mean score of 4.5, 5.0, and 5.0 in Gjesdal, Suldal, and Time, respectively, i.e. fully acceptable. In Stavanger, two of the informants gave (48) a score of 5, while the other two gave 1 (see appendix B for the complete score sheet).

I will maintain that in subject *wh*-questions, too, V2 is optional in the Rogaland dialects. In contrast to the Nordmøre dialect, in which “V2 is not possible in subject *wh*-questions since *som* is a head, the reason being that it [*som*] is preferred over the finite verb as a lexicalizer of C^{int}” (Vangsnes 2006, p. 215), the Rogaland dialects do allow V2 in this context. This is illustrated in (49).

³Example (47a) is taken from the wall of a Facebook event and is written in dialect by a female user from Sandnes.

⁴Example (47b) is taken from the message board of an online forum for car enthusiasts and is written in dialect by a user from Stavanger.

⁵Example (47c) is taken from the wall of a public figure on Facebook and is written in dialect by a male user from Stavanger.

⁶Example (47d) is taken from the message board of an online forum about pregnancy, parenting and baby experiences, and is written in dialect by a user from Karmøy.

Table 5.3: Revised microparametric settings for some Norwegian *wh*-grammars (cf. table 3.3)

	$[\text{lex } C^{\text{int}}]$	Short $wh = X^0$	$som = X^0$
Nordmøre	—	?	+
Tromsø	+	+	+
Trøndelag	+	+	—
Rogaland	—	?	\pm
Hordaland	+	—	+
Eastern Norwegian	+	—	—

C^0 (hence the +).

5.2.4 *Korfor* ‘why’—a remaining constraint?

From the examples given in 5.2.1 and 5.2.2, it seems that non-V2 word order is possible with most *wh*-words, no matter their complexity. An overview of the *wh*-forms in the Rogaland dialects is given in table 5.4 on the next page.⁸

In the Rogaland dialects non-V2 in main clause *wh*-questions seems to be compatible with all the *wh*-words listed in table 5.4 except one, namely the *wh*-adverb *korfor* ‘why’ (including its different forms *koffår*, *kaffår*, etc.). For some reason, *korfor* causes reduced acceptability in constructions which are acceptable with other *wh*-adverbs, cf. the pairs in (50), (51) and (52).⁹

- (50) a. *Koss di hadde fått tag i deg då?*
 how they had got hold in you then
 ‘How had they got hold of you then?’ (NDC: hjelmeland_02uk)
- b. ??*Koffår di hadde fått tag i deg då?*
 why they had got hold in you then
 INTENDED: ‘Why had they got hold of you then?’

⁷Example (49c) is taken from a guestbook on a social networking site and is written in dialect by a twenty year-old male from Stavanger.

⁸See Vangsnes (2007, 2008a,b) for a more exhaustive account of the different *wh*-determiners and interrogative noun phrases in Norwegian dialects.

⁹*Korfor* is also the only *wh*-word not found in the *Wh+nå/då* construction, cf. section 5.3.4.

Table 5.4: Forms of *wh*-words in the Rogaland dialects

Rogaland dialects	Norwegian bokmål	English
<i>ka, ke</i>	<i>hva</i>	‘what’
<i>ka, kafårei(n), kaffårnågen</i>	<i>hvilke(n)</i>	‘which’
<i>kati, korti</i>	<i>når</i>	‘when’
<i>kem, ken, kim</i>	<i>hvem</i>	‘who’
<i>korfor, koffår, kaffår, kefår</i>	<i>hvorfor</i>	‘why’
<i>kor, korhen</i>	<i>hvor</i>	‘where’
<i>koss, kossen, kordan</i>	<i>hvordan</i>	‘how’

- (51) a. *Kati du blei oppringde for dette her då?*
 when you were rung up for this here then
 ‘When did they call you up about this then?’
 (NDC: hjelmeland_01um)
- b. ??*Koffår du blei oppringde for dette her då?*
 why you were rung up for this here then
 INTENDED: ‘Why did they call you up about this then?’
- (52) a. *Kor dåkke ska hen?*
 where you shall loc
 ‘Where are you going?’
 (NDC: sokndal_01um)
- b. ??*Koffår dåkke ska der?*
 why you shall there
 INTENDED: ‘Why are you going there?’

The claim that *korfor* is different from other *wh*-words with respect to word order restrictions is supported by the (non-)findings in the Nordic Dialect Corpus. All the *wh*-forms in table 5.4—with the notable exception of *korfor*—are found in

non-V2 constructions in the corpus. Neither have I been able to find non-V2 main clause *wh*-questions introduced by *korfor* on the Web.

This special status of *korfor* is in accordance with the results of the investigations undertaken in Nordgård (1985) and Åfarli (1986a,b). Both authors found a preference for V2 over non-V2 in questions with the local equivalent of *korfor* among speakers from Rogaland and Møre og Romsdal county, respectively. (The same was found by Fiva 1996 for the Tromsø dialect, but this may be due to a more general complexity constraint on non-V2.)

Note that we are not necessarily dealing with sharp unacceptability in all instances. As seen in table 5.1, the questionnaire used for the Nordic Syntactic Judgment Database included the test sentence in (53).

- (53) *Koffår han va så sure, egentlig?*
 why he was so grumpy really
 ‘Why was he really so grumpy’

(53) got a mean score as low as 2.1 (i.e. unacceptable) based on all seven measuring points in Rogaland. It was, however, judged fully acceptable by both informants from the younger age group in Stavanger, and enjoyed a mean score of 3.5 in Gjesdal. But despite being accepted by a minority of the informants, it was clearly not as easily accepted as some of the other non-V2 constructions that were tested.

There is one important aspect about *korfor* ‘why’ that I have not mentioned yet, namely the existence of a split variant with the form *ka ... for* ‘what ... for’ or *ka ... itte* ‘what ... after’, bearing the same meaning.¹⁰ Leu (2007, 2008) discusses the *what for* split in English in depth, but only in its ‘what kind of NP’ meaning.¹¹ Vangsnes (2007), however, touches on the subject of the *what for* split in its ‘why’ meaning, focusing on data from the Norwegian dialects spoken in Sogn og Fjordane county.

Korfor is not the only *wh*-form that may be split in Norwegian; the alternative counterpart of *kor* ‘where’—*kor hen* ‘where LOC’—may also be split in most dialects

¹⁰Note that splitting *korfor* into *kor ... for* ‘where ... for’ is not possible.

¹¹Of course the *what ... for* construction meaning ‘why’ exists in English too, e.g. *What did you do that for?* \approx *Why did you do that?*

(cf. (52a)).¹² Even the local equivalent of *hvordan* ‘how’ may be split in the dialects of inner Sogn according to Vangsnes (2007, pp. 8–9). An interesting observation concerning the split *what for* ‘why’ construction is that while *korfor* seems to be incompatible with non-V2 word order in the Rogaland dialects, non-V2 is fine if the split alternative is used, as shown in (54).

- (54) a. *Ka du klage for du ska jo te Oslo og*
 what you complain for you shall yes to Oslo and
 Trondheim, like bra som Kreta det vell?
 Trondheim equally good as Crete that well
 ‘Why are you complaining, you’re going to Oslo and Trondheim, that’s
 just as good as Crete, isn’t it?’ (URL 20)¹³
- b. *Ka du grine itte?*
 what you cry after
 ‘Why are you whining?’ (URL 23)¹⁴

From (54) I take it that there is nothing about the semantics of *korfor* that excludes it from appearing in non-V2 constructions, but I close off this section maintaining that (the unsplit) *korfor* remains a (weak) constraint on non-V2 in *wh*-questions in the Rogaland dialects.

5.3 Introducing the *Wh+nå/då* construction

In this section I will present new data illustrating a hitherto undescribed word order phenomenon, which is found only in the Rogaland dialects of Norwegian: Non-V2 *wh*-questions in which either of the (always stressed) sentence adverbs *nå* ‘now’ or *då* ‘then’ immediately follows the *wh*-phrase, yielding V4 word order. This is what I—in lack of a catchier name—will refer to as the “*Wh+nå/då* construction”.

¹²The split *kor hen* is different from the split *ka for* in the sense that the locative particle *hen* may be left out without causing ungrammaticality, indicating that *kor* ‘where’ is not the argument of *hen* in the way that *ka* ‘what’ is the argument of the PPs *for* ‘for’ or *itte* ‘after’.

¹³Example (54a) is taken from the blog of a seventeen year old female from the town of Stavanger writing in dialect.

¹⁴Example (54b) is taken from the wall of a Facebook group, and is written in dialect by a male from Forus.

Two introductory examples of the *Wh+nå/då* construction are given in (55).¹⁵

- (55) a. *Kor Nå du har våre?*
 oh where now you have been
 ‘Where have you been now?’ (NDC: hjelmeland_04gk)
- b. *Kem DÅ så ska?*
 who then REL shall
 ‘Who’s going then?’ (NDC: gjesdal_01um)

Note that the word order with the *wh*-word immediately followed by the adverb in (55) is not possible in Standard Norwegian. Nor is it known to be found in any dialect spoken outside of Rogaland.¹⁶ Hence the structures in (56) are starred out, if judgments are based on Standard Norwegian.

- (56) a. **Hvor Nå du har vært?*
 oh where now you have been
 INTENDED: ‘Where have you been now?’ (Standard Norwegian)
- b. **Hvem DA som skal?*
 who then REL shall
 INTENDED: ‘Who’s going then?’ (Standard Norwegian)

Although being limited in its geographical distribution, the *Wh+nå/då* phenomenon is not rare. From a total of approximately 340 minutes of conversation from Rogaland in the Nordic Dialect Corpus, I found five occurrences of the *Wh+nå/då* construction. This cannot be regarded as infrequent, considering that *wh*-questions in themselves do not constitute a major part of conversational material. Furthermore, the construction may not be existent in all parts of Rogaland, given the fact that it was not found in recordings from all seven measuring points within the

¹⁵The sentence adverb *då* found in the *Wh+nå/då* construction must not be confused with the “discourse particle” *då* ‘then’. An example in which the two co-occur is given in (i).

- (i) *Ka gjorde dåkkår då, da?*
 what did you-PL then then
 ‘What did you do then, then?’ (NDC: karmøy_04gk)

Here *då* is the referential adverb, while the sentence final *da* is the non-referential discourse particle. In this example from Karmøy they are easy to distinguish due to their different forms, but in most of the Rogaland dialects they are homophonous.

¹⁶An exception is Flekkefjord, cf. footnote 17 on page 88 and examples (60) and (62).

county. So limiting the basis for the total minutes of conversation to the places where it is actually found, would result in an even higher frequency.

Although mainly a root phenomenon, the *Wh+nå/då* construction is sometimes found in embedded contexts too. Hence I will divide the remainder of the presentation of the construction in two: Its occurrence in main clauses is presented in 5.3.1, and its occurrence in embedded clauses is presented in 5.3.2.

The contents of the next subsections are mainly descriptive. That is, data will be presented without any immediate syntactic analysis. Analysis will be postponed till section 5.4.

5.3.1 *Wh+nå/då* in main clauses

In the examples I will include some context showing the utterances preceding the *Wh+nå/då* construction. This is done to illustrate the anaphoricity of the sentence adverbs *nå* and *då*, and to illustrate that they are anaphoric to preceding statements.

5.3.1.1 Non-subject *wh*-questions

Consider the excerpt of a conversation from the NDC given in (57), which contains the *Wh+nå/då* construction with *då* in a non-subject *wh*-question. The capital letters in this and the following examples are used to indicate stress, as the adverbs *nå/då* always receive stress in the *Wh+nå/då* construction.

- (57) A: *Han snakke om atta di, han tog seg jedna en*
 he spoke about that they he took himself maybe a
 Telemarkstur.
 Telemark-trip
 ‘He said that they, he may take a trip to Telemark.’ (NDC: time_03gm)
- B: *Å?*
 oh
 ‘Oh?’ (NDC: time_04gk)
- A: *Ja.*
 yes
 ‘Yes.’ (NDC: time_03gm)

B: *Ka DÅ han tenkje på?*
 what then he thinks on
 ‘What does he have in mind then?’ (NDC: time_04gk)

A: *Nei det va, det va frukt.*
 no it was it was fruit
 ‘No it’s, it’s fruit.’ (NDC: time_03gm)

In (57) it is speaker B’s second utterance that is the one of main interest, in which *då* ‘then’ refers to the likely event of the person spoken of taking a trip to Telemark. Note that *då* does not refer to any particular point of time before or after the time of the utterance, but rather to a hypothetical situation already mentioned in the previous discourse (A’s first utterance). That is, *då* represents contextually given information.

In addition to the acceptability judgment tasks and the recording of interviews and conversations (cf. section 4.4.1), a *wh*-question elicitation task was carried out on some of the informants on the NorDiaSyn field trips to Rogaland (this was an idea of Øystein Vangsnes’, and it is to his merit that the elicitation data were collected). To elicit *wh*-questions, the informants were given a list of bare *wh*-words (*kor* ‘where’, *kem* ‘who’, *ka* ‘what’, etc.) and asked to create questions starting with each of them. The task was carried out with two informants at a time, with one of them asking and the other one answering. The experiment was recorded, but the data have not been transcribed and are not accessible through the NDC (I have had access to the elicitation data through the NorDiaSyn project). This elicitation technique is not mentioned amongst the methods presented in chapter 4, but I will nevertheless include examples of some elicited structures, as they have proved to be of relevance here. Consider the series of utterances in (58), which is a result of the *wh*-elicitation.

(58) A: *Kor hen du va i går?*
 where LOC you were yesterday
 ‘Where were you yesterday?’ (Elicitation: gjesdal_02uk)

B: *På Søyland.*
 on Søyland
 ‘At Søyland.’ (Elicitation: gjesdal_01um)

- A: *Ken DÅ du va med?*
 who then you were with
 ‘Who were you with then?’ (Elicitation: gjesdal_02uk)
- B: *Eg va sjå mor å far.*
 I was with mother and father
 ‘I was at my mom and dad’s.’ (Elicitation: gjesdal_01um)

In (58), too, *då* in speaker A’s second question refers to given information, namely speaker B’s being at Søyland the day before.

In (59) below, B’s response is an example of the *Wh+nå/då* construction with *nå* in a non-subject *wh*-question. The example is from the NDC.

- (59) A: *Så har eg våre ude å reist.*
 so have I been out and traveled
 ‘And I’ve been out traveling.’ (NDC: hjelmeland_03gm)
- B: *Å? Kor Nå du har våre?*
 oh where now you have been
 ‘Oh? Where have you been now?’ (NDC: hjelmeland_04gk)
- A: *Ja, har våre i California.*
 yes have been to California
 ‘Yeah, I’ve been to California.’ (NDC: hjelmeland_03gm)

Again, note that *nå* ‘now’ does not refer to the actual time of utterance, but to a point of time established in the preceding context, namely the time when speaker A was out traveling. In speaker B’s response in (59), *nå* also marks something that resembles contrastive focus, i.e. ‘Where have you been *this time*?’ (as opposed to previous times).

Another example of the *Wh+nå/då* construction with the preposed adverb marking contrastive focus is found in the Big Brother Corpus (cf. section 4.4.2). Consider the dialogue in (60).¹⁷

- (60) A: *E dette et kryssforhør igjen?*
 is this a cross-examination again

¹⁷The informant Anne Mona in the Big Brother Corpus is from the town of Flekkefjord, which is in Vest-Agder county, however just across the border from Rogaland (see the map in figure 4.3). The municipality of Flekkefjord borders Rogaland county (the municipalities of Sokndal and Lund) to the west.

‘Is this another cross-examination?’ (BBC: Anne Mona)

B: *Nei.*

no

‘No.’ (BBC: Ramsy)

A: *Å nei. Ka DÅ det e?*
oh no what then it is

‘OK. What is it then?’ (BBC: Anne Mona)

B: *Bli-kjent-forhør.*

become-acquainted-examination

‘Get-to-know-eachother-examination.’ (BBC: Ramsy)

In (60) the stressed *då* in speaker A’s reply *Ka DÅ det e?* clearly marks contrastive focus, in the sense ‘What is this then, if it is not a cross-examination?’.

5.3.1.2 Subject *wh*-questions

The *Wh+nå/då* construction is not only found in non-subject *wh*-questions. The following is an example of *Wh+nå/då* in a subject *wh*-question:

- (61) *Kor mange DÅ så, elle, kem DÅ så ska?*
how many then REL or who then REL shall
Roughly: ‘How many, or, who’s going then?’ [to a christmas dinner
previously spoken of] (NDC: gjesdal_01um)

The construction is found in the Big Brother Corpus, too:

- (62) *Ka Nå så skjer?*
what now REL happens
‘What’s going on now?’ (BBC: Anne Mona)

As shown in section 4.5.2, a subject *wh*-question with the *Wh+nå/då* construction was tested on the informants in Rogaland. The test sentence to which acceptability judgments were given was shown in (43d) and is actually identical to (62) above. As can be seen in table 4.1 on page 70, the structure in (43d)/(62) was given a mean score of 4, 4, and 5 in Gjesdal, Stavanger, and Time, respectively. In other words, it was judged highly acceptable.

5.3.2 *Wh+nå/då* in embedded clauses

The *Wh+nå/då* construction is also attested in embedded contexts, as documented by the relative clauses in (63) and (64) found on the Web.

- (63) *Ropte på sambo, og kasta testen i hodet på han*
 called on boyfriend and threw test-DEF in head-DEF on him
nr han var halveis oppe i trappa. Og ropte: Se ka
 when he was halfway up in stairs-DEF and shouted look what
nå du har gjort!!!!
 now you have done
 ‘I called for my boyfriend, and threw the test in his face when he was halfway up the stairs. And shouted: Now look what you’ve done!!!!’ (URL no. 21)¹⁸

- (64) *Det va då eg såg at der sto feilmelding på an.....*
 it was then I saw that there stood error-message on him
Eg åpna filteret for å se ka nå vaskemaskinen
 I opened filter-DEF for to see what now washing machine-DEF
min hadde spist.....
 mine had eaten
 ‘That was when I saw that there was an error message on it..... I opened the filter to see what my washing machine had eaten now.....’ (URL no. 22)

In addition to the present-day examples above, traces of the same word order are found in works by Arne Garborg (see footnotes 2 on page 33 and 12 on page 42 for more information on and examples from Garborg). The following is the last stanza of the poem *Ivar Aasen* (Garborg 1922, p. 320).

- (65) *Heimen er tufta ved godan Manns*
Strid gjennom Møda og Æra;
yvi oss enn sviv Anden hans,
ser kva no me vil gjera.
Gjev han alltid maa glad sitt Lands
Gardvord vera!

The fourth line reads

¹⁸Example (63) is written in dialect and taken from the message board of an online forum about pregnancy, parenting and baby experiences.

- (66) *ser kva no me vil gjera.*
 sees what now we will do

‘sees what will we do now/next.’

(Garborg 1922, p. 320)

Although an embedded clause, (66) is an indication of the existence of the *Wh+nå/då* construction in year 1908 (when the collection *Kvæde*, in which the above poem is found, was published).

5.3.3 The inversion/non-inversion asymmetry

The purpose of this section is to emphasize an important and mysterious aspect of the *Wh+nå/då* construction, namely that—as one may have noticed from the examples given thus far—it only occurs in “non-V2 structures”, i.e. in structures lacking subject-verb inversion (in the case of non-subject *wh*-questions) and in structures with the overt complementizer *så/som* (in the case of subject *wh*-questions). *Wh+nå/då* is never found in structures that would have had V2 word order if the adverbs *nå/då* had not been present. This is what I will refer to as the “inversion/non-inversion asymmetry”.¹⁹

Verb movement across the subject in non-subject *wh*-questions leads to ill-formedness if co-occurring with *Wh+nå/då*. Hence the structures in (67), which are the inverted counterparts of the relevant constructions in (57) and (59), are unacceptable, and, as expected, not found in any corpus.

- (67) a. **Ka DÅ tenkje han på?*
 what then thinks he on
 INTENDED: ‘What does he have in mind then?’
- b. **Kor Nå he du våre?*
 where now have you been
 INTENDED: ‘Where have you been now?’

In non-subject *wh*-questions, the complementizer *så/som* is obligatorily present if the *wh*-phrase is immediately followed by *nå/då*. Hence variants of (61) and (62) without *så* (but presumably with verb movement to C⁰) are ill-formed:

¹⁹Admittedly, this term is somewhat inaccurate, considering that there is no subject-verb inversion in subject *wh*-questions (in which the *wh*-phrase itself is the subject).

- (68) a. **Kem* *Dǎ* *ska*?
 who then shall
 INTENDED: ‘Who’s going then?’
 b. **Ka* *Nǎ* *skjer*?
 what now happens
 INTENDED: ‘What’s going on now?’

Summing up, we have seen that the adverbs $n\acute{a}/d\acute{a}$ in the $Wh+n\acute{a}/d\acute{a}$ construction are never found adjacent to the verb. This is the basic property of the asymmetry in the distribution of the $Wh+n\acute{a}/d\acute{a}$ construction. While V2 is in general optional in *wh*-questions in the Rogaland dialects (cf. section 5.2), there is no optionality when it comes to verb movement in the $Wh+n\acute{a}/d\acute{a}$ construction: $Wh+n\acute{a}/d\acute{a}$ only occurs in structures lacking V⁰-to-C⁰ movement.

5.3.4 Constraints on the $Wh+n\hat{a}/d\hat{a}$ construction

So far I have shown that the *Wh+nå/då* construction is found in both non-subject and subject *wh*-questions. We have also seen that different *wh*-words—both *wh*-arguments and *wh*-adverbs—are compatible with the *Wh+nå/då* construction (the examples given thus far includes *ka* ‘what’, *kor* ‘where’, *kem* ‘who’, and *kor mange* ‘how many’). For the sake of exhaustiveness, I will include a few more examples, which include *wh*-words not shown so far. This is done to illustrate two points, namely that (i) there is no complexity constraint on the *wh*-phrases involved in the *Wh+nå/då* construction, and (ii) the *Wh+nå/då* construction is found with all *wh*-words except *korfor* ‘why’.

- (69) a. *Kati DÅ du... De e kje lenge siå du fekk telefon*
 when then you... It is NEG long since you got phone
då?
 then
 Roughly: ‘When did you... You got a call not long ago then?’
 (NDC: hjelmeland_02uk)
- b. *Kossen då de lage bade?*
 how then they make bath-DEF

‘How do they make the bathroom, then?’ (URL 9)²⁰

Even though the *Wh+nå/då* construction in (69a) is part of a cut-off utterance (as the speaker changes his mind and expresses himself in other words), I take this example, together with (61), (69b) and (70) below, as evidence for the non-existence of a complexity constraint on the *wh*-phrases involved in the *Wh+nå/då* construction.

- (70) *Skal du begynne med raly? Ka bil då du ska kjøra?*
 shall you begin with rally what car then you shall drive-INF
 ‘Are you going to take up rallying? What car will you be driving then?’
 (URL 7)²¹

The only constraint on the *Wh+nå/då* construction seems to be its incompatibility with the *wh*-adverb *korfor* ‘why’. Not only is *korfor* the only *wh*-form absent in “regular” V3 *wh*-questions in the Rogaland dialects (cf. section 5.2.4)—it is also the only one that cannot be found in V4 constructions immediately followed by the adverbs *nå* and *då*. Every other *wh*-form is found in such surroundings, either in the Nordic Dialect Corpus or on the Web.

A made-up example of *Wh+nå/då* with *korfor* is severely degraded:

- (71) ??*Korfor nå du e sure?*
 why now you are grumpy
 INTENDED: ‘Why are you grumpy now?’

With the split version *ka ... for/itte* ‘what ... for/after’ (= ‘why’, cf. 5.2.4), however, *Wh+nå/då* is readily acceptable. Examples from the Web are given in (72).

- (72) a. *Ka nå du e sur for?*
 what now you are grumpy for
 ‘Why are you grumpy now?’ / ‘What are you grumpy for now?’
 (URL 18)²²

²⁰Ex. (69b) is taken from the comment field of a blog and is written in dialect by a twenty-two year old female from the municipality of Hå.

²¹Example (70) is taken from an online forum for people interested in rally racing, and is written in dialect by a male member from Stavanger.

²²Example (72a) is taken from a comment field on YouTube, and is written in dialect by a male from Stavanger.

- b. *Ka dā du skrige itte?*
 what then you yell after
 ‘Why are you yelling then?’ / ‘What are you yelling for then?’
 (URL 19)²³

I will leave open the question of why *korfor* is incompatible with *Wh+nā/dā*.

5.4 Analyzing the *Wh+nā/dā* construction

The main purpose of this section is to answer the following three questions relating to the *Wh+nā/dā* construction:

- (i) Why do no other adverbs than *nā* and *dā* appear immediately after the *wh*-constituent?
- (ii) Why is the *Wh+nā/dā* construction only found in structures without verb movement, i.e., what causes the unacceptability of (67) and (68)?
- (iii) What position in the tree do *nā* and *dā* occupy?

The outline of this section is as follows. In 5.4.1 I discuss the difference between *nā/dā* and *wh*-phrase internal adverbs. In 5.4.2 I present some views on adverb positions in *wh*-questions in the existing literature, and see how *nā* and *dā* relate to these. In 5.4.3 I explore the possibility of *nā* and *dā* being adjoined to *C'*. In 5.4.4 I discuss what characteristics of *nā* and *dā* that may make them stand out from other adverbs. In 5.4.5 I propose an analysis of the *Wh+nā/dā* construction in which I argue that the construction stems from an underlying *it*-cleft. In 5.4.6 and 5.4.7 I extend the analysis from 5.4.5 to the *what for* construction and sluicing constructions, and show that these, too, can be regarded as instances of elliptical clefts.

5.4.1 Are *nā* and *dā* internal to the *wh*-phrase?

Before going into discussion about adverbs and adverb positions, let me first consider one obvious idea that comes to mind when looking at the *Wh+nā/dā*

²³Example (72b) is taken from the message board of an online forum for gaming, and is written in dialect by a twenty year old male from the town of Sandnes.

construction, namely the idea that the adverbs *nå* and *då* are internal to the phrase hosting the *wh*-word. The *Wh+nå/då* construction may not look so exceptional after all if we consider the structures in (73–75) below, which are acceptable in Standard Norwegian, and in which it may look like the adverbs *også*, *ellers*, and *hen* appear between the subject or the *wh*-phrase in Spec-CP and the verb in C⁰.

- (73) *Ole også hørte tjelden.*
 he too heard oystercatcher-DEF
 ‘He, too, heard the oystercatcher.’

- (74) *Hva ellers kan det være?*
 what else can it be-INF
 ‘What else can it be?’

- (75) *Hvor hen skal du?*
 where LOC shall you
 ‘Where are you going?’

At first glance, the constructions above look very similar to the *Wh+nå/då* construction, considering the adverb immediately following the *wh*-word. All of the above are, however, instances of constituent modification, and not sentence modification, as is the case with *Wh+nå/då*. That is, while the adverbs in (73–75) modify only the preceding word (*Ole*, *hva*, and *hvor*, respectively), *nå* and *då* modify the sentence as a whole.

The difference between *Wh+nå/då* and (73) is simple enough: In (73) the adverb *også* ‘too’ modifies only the subject DP, and not the VP. Hence the meaning of (73) is that Ole heard the oystercatcher in addition to some other person who heard the oystercatcher. Its meaning is not that Ole heard the oystercatcher in addition to some other bird(s), or that Ole perhaps heard the bird in addition to seeing it.

When it comes to (74), I will assume that *hva ellers* ‘what else’, just like *Per også* ‘Per too’, is a case of constituent modification, and that *ellers* ‘else’ is internal to the *wh*-phrase. That is, I treat *hva ellers* on a par with phrases like *hva annet* ‘what other/else’, *hvem andre* ‘who else’ etc, and take *ellers* to modify only the *wh*-word, and not the whole proposition expressed by the VP.

The same goes for structures like (75). I assume that the locative particle *hen* is internal to the *wh*-phrase. *Hen* is also different from *nå/då* with respect to emphatic *wh*-expressions like *ka faen* ‘what devil’ or *kor faen* ‘where devil’. While the *wh*-word and *nå/då* can be split by *faen* ‘devil’, *kor* and *hen* cannot. Compare (76) and (77).

- (76) *Ka faen nå du snakke om?*
 what devil now you talk about
 ‘What the hell are you talking about now?’ (URL 24)²⁴

- (77) ??*Kor faen hen du ska?*
 what devil LOC you shall
 INTENDED: ‘Where the hell are you going?’

In addition, *kor hen* is different from *Wh+nå/då* when it comes to stress. A question with *kor hen* is acceptable with main stress on a constituent different from *hen* (cf. (78a), which is a copy of speaker A’s first question in (58)), while stress on the locative particle *hen* results in degraded acceptability (cf. (78b)).

- (78) a. *Kor hen du va I GÅR?*
 where LOC you were yesterday
 ‘Where were you YESTERDAY?’ (Elicitation: gjesdal_02uk)
- b. ??*Kor HEN du va i går?*
 where LOC you were yesterday
 INTENDED: ‘Where were you yesterday?’

Wh+nå/då, on the other hand, can only have stress on *nå* or *då*, as in (79a). Deaccenting *nå* or *då* leads to unacceptability, cf. (79b).

- (79) a. *Ken DÅ du va med?*
 who then you were with
 ‘Who were you with THEN?’ (Elicitation: gjesdal_02uk)
- b. ??*Ken då du VA med?*
 who then you were with
 INTENDED: ‘Who WERE you with then?’

²⁴Example (76) is taken from an online forum on the homepage of a Norwegian hip-hop community, and is written in dialect by a member from Stavanger.

Another property that separates the *wh*-structures in (74) and (75) from the *Wh+nå/då* construction is the ability to appear with subject-verb inversion: (74) and (75) have V2 word order. *Nå* and *då*, on the contrary, as we have seen, never appear adjacent to the verb. The word order in the *Wh+nå/då* construction is never V3, but always (at least) V4. Thus, hypothetically, treating *nå/då* as internal to the *wh*-phrase would not help us in explaining the inversion/non-inversion asymmetry presented in 5.3.3.

While *ellers* and *hen* are a part of the WhP/QP in Spec-CP, I claim that *nå* and *då* are not. Now, having rejected the possibility of *nå* and *då* being *wh*-phrase internal elements, we are ready to face the question of where adverbs are located in *wh*-questions.

5.4.2 Adverb positions in *wh*-questions

Westergaard and Vangsnes (2005, sections 5, 6 and 7, henceforth W&V) discuss the position of sentence adverbs (S-adverbs) in relation to the position of subjects in Norwegian main clause *wh*-questions with both V2 and non-V2 word order. Illustrating matters with examples from the Tromsø dialect and the S-adverb *egentlig* ‘really/actually’, they reach the generalizations that “... the subject can occur on either side of a sentence adverb in V2 constructions” (p. 135) and, more importantly, that in “... V3 *wh*-questions, where there is no verb movement, the subject must precede sentence adverbials” (p. 140). Two of the examples W&V give are shown in (80).

- (80) a. *Ka han Ola egentli sa?*
 what ART Ola really said
 ‘What did Ola really say?’ (W&V 2005, p. 140)
- b. **Ka egentli han Ola sa?*
 what really ART Ola said
 INTENDED: ‘What did Ola really say?’ (W&V 2005, p. 140)

In order to account for these generalizations they suggest the (split) IP structure in (81) below (W&V’s (35), p. 136), which hinges on the informational status of the subject.

(81) CP [_{IP} AgrSP Given subjects [_{TP} Sentence adverbs [_{TP} New subjects

W&V make no mention, however, of the syntactic phenomenon that I have presented in 5.3—the *Wh+nå/då* construction—in which S-adverbs do in fact precede subjects (given subjects included) in non-V2 constructions. Of course, W&V’s generalizations concerning the position of S-adverbs are valid for the Tromsø dialect, on which they are based. But they do not hold for the Rogaland dialects, and the new data with *Wh+nå/då* are thus left unaccounted for.

The same view is upheld by Westergaard (2009, p. 48), who argues that “... there is absolutely no element that may intervene between the *wh*-word and the subject in a non-V2 *wh*-question, not even adverbs that have been argued to be adjoined higher than the IP domain.” (Again, based on data from the Tromsø dialect.) The *Wh+nå/då* construction introduced above, thus seem to reveal nothing less than a novel adverb position.

The range of adverbs found in this position is, as the name of the construction suggests, highly restricted; only *nå* ‘now’ and *då* ‘then’ may felicitously appear between the *wh*-word and the subject. I have not found any examples with other adverbs in the NDC or on the Web, and structures like (82a) and (82b), which are modified versions of (55a) and (55b), respectively, are degraded.

- (82) a. ??*Kor egentlig du he vore?*
 where really you have been
 ‘Where have you really been?’
 b. ??*Kem egentlig så ska?*
 who actually rel shall
 ‘Who’s actually going?’

Naturally, the aforementioned *nå* and *då* may also occur sentence-finally in non-V2 constructions in the Rogaland dialects (i.e. right adjoined to VP, considering that there is no verb movement in these structures, cf. 5.4.3), as found in (83) and (84).

- (83) *Kor hu e Nå?*
 where she is now
 ‘Where is she now?’ (NDC: gjesdal_04gk)
- (84) *Ka så går Då?*
 what REL goes then

‘What’s on then?’ [on TV Friday night] (NDC: suldal_02uk)

Nå and *då* may not, however, intervene between the subject and the finite verb, as illustrated in (85). A similar generalization holds for questions where the *wh*-constituent is the subject of the clause, in which *nå/då* cannot appear between the complementizer *så/som* and the verb without causing reduced acceptability, as shown in (86).

- (85) ??*Kor du Nå he våre?*
 where she now is
 INTENDED: ‘Where is she now?’

- (86) ??*Kem så DÅ ska?*
 who REL then shall
 INTENDED: ‘Who’s going then?’

Interestingly, a different S-adverb like *egentlig* ‘really’ may occupy this position, as illustrated by W&V (2005, p. 136 and p. 141) with examples from the Tromsø dialect, reproduced below in (87) and (88). This holds for the Rogaland dialects as well.

- (87) *Ka han Ola egentli mente med det der?*
 what ART Ola really meant with that there
 ‘What did Ola really mean by that?’ (W&V 2005, p. 136)

- (88) *Kem som egentli trur på nåkka sånt?*
 who REL actually believes on something such
 ‘Who actually believes something like that?’ (W&V 2005, p. 141)

We are now able to give an overview of the positions of the different adverbs under discussion in non-V2 *wh*-questions. The possible word orders for non-subject and subject *wh*-questions in the Rogaland dialects are schematized in (89) and (90), respectively (leaving out negation for now).

- (89) a. *Wh*[−SUBJ] > (*nå/då*) > subject > (**nå/då*) > *Vfin*
 b. *Wh*[−SUBJ] > (**egentlig*) > subject > (*egentlig*) > *Vfin*

- (90) a. $Wh[+SUBJ] > (n\ddot{a}/d\ddot{a}) > REL > (*n\ddot{a}/d\ddot{a}) > V_{fin}$
 b. $Wh[+SUBJ] > (*egentlig) > REL > (egentlig) > V_{fin}$

Note again that the word order in (89a) and (90a) is restricted to the $n\ddot{a}/d\ddot{a}$ pair; no other adverbs may occupy this position. *Egentlig* was chosen to illustrate the point that some adverbs can occupy a position that $n\ddot{a}/d\ddot{a}$ cannot, namely the one between the subject or the relative complementizer and the finite verb.²⁶

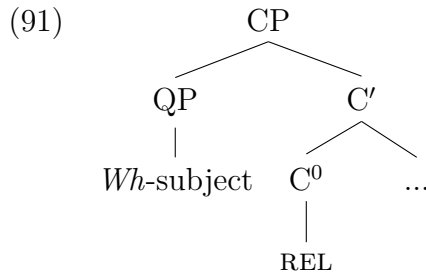
As shown in (81), W&V take S-adverbs to be located somewhere in the IP/TP system. According to Åfarli and Eide (2003, chapter 6), sentence adverbials are generally left adjoined to T' in Norwegian, but sometimes to TP. Adjoining $n\ddot{a}$ or $d\ddot{a}$ somewhere in the TP/IP system, however, irrespective of their exact position within this system, cannot account for the distribution of these adverbs in the $Wh+n\ddot{a}/d\ddot{a}$ construction. Considering (61) and (62), in which $n\ddot{a}$ and $d\ddot{a}$ co-occur with and precede the complementizer $s\ddot{a}/som$, it is obvious that these adverbs end up (by Merge or Move) in the C-domain (inasmuch as $s\ddot{a}/som$ is located in C⁰). The problem of what structural position $n\ddot{a}$ and $d\ddot{a}$ may occupy will be further discussed in 5.4.3 below.

5.4.3 $Wh+n\ddot{a}/d\ddot{a}$ as an instance of C'-adjunction

The discussion in this section emerges in part from the problem introduced by the structure in (91) below, which lacks an available site for the adverbs immediately following the *wh*-constituent (standardly assuming the *wh*-constituent to be located in Spec-CP and the complementizer $s\ddot{a}/som$ in C⁰). $N\ddot{a}/d\ddot{a}$ are clearly not located anywhere below C⁰ since they, as mentioned above, co-occur with and precede the relative complementizer $s\ddot{a}/som$ (shown as REL in the tree in (91)) in subject *wh*-questions, as exemplified in (61) and (62). But what position in the tree, then, do $n\ddot{a}/d\ddot{a}$ occupy?

In 5.4.2 I said that sentence adverbs are treated as adjuncts left adjoined to TP or the intermediate T' level in the literature (Westergaard and Vangsnes

²⁶Cinque (1999, p. 12), although not specifically mentioning their position in *wh*-questions, notes that “[t]emporal adverbs anchored to speech time, like *ora*, *adesso* ‘now’ and *allora* ‘then’ seem to enjoy a partially freer distribution” in his discussion of higher S-adverbs in Italian and French. As we have seen, however, $n\ddot{a}$ ‘now’ and $d\ddot{a}$ ‘then’ are not necessarily distributed more freely than other S-adverbs.

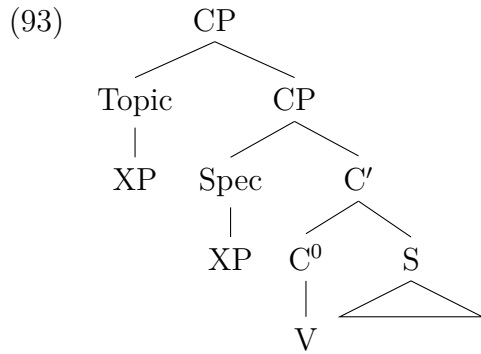


2005, Åfarli and Eide 2003). Such approaches cannot, however, account for the distribution of the adverbs in the *Wh*+*nå/då* construction, since adjoining *nå/då* to T' or TP would leave the adverb too low in the structure and result in the ill-formed (85) and (86). Alternatively, one could imagine adjoining them to CP. Even though adjunction to CP (for some reason) is banned in some of the literature (e.g. Chomsky 1986a; Vikner 1995), admitting it would not get us very far, as the adverbs would end up too high, preceding the *wh*-constituent. Spec-CP is generally assumed to be occupied either by a topicalized element or a *wh*-element, but following Kiparsky (1995), a *wh*-constituent in Spec-CP may be preceded by a topicalized element which is adjoined to CP, yielding the word order *Topic* > *Wh*. The topicalized element may be an AdvP, as shown in (92). The adjunction structure argued for by Kiparsky is given in (93) (which is a modified version of Kiparsky's (1) on his page 140).

(92) *Tomorrow, where shall we go?*

(Kiparsky 1995, p. 143)

The model in (93) is obviously unable to cover our data, since treating *nå/då* on a par with a topicalized adverb like *tomorrow* as in (92) is futile, inasmuch as the adverb is adjoined above the *wh*-constituent in Spec-CP. Kiparsky's analysis is also based on questions with subject-auxiliary inversion, which does not help us in explaining why the peculiar appearances of *nå/då* are found in questions without inversion only. This leaves us with one option only if we are to retain an adjunction analysis and an unsplit CP, namely adjoining *nå/då* to the intermediate bar-level, forming a larger C'.



Adjunction to bar-level is however not widely accepted in the literature (but see Ernst 2002, pp. 390–392 for discussion), and it has been banned in some earlier works (e.g. Platzack 1998, p. 45). Ernst (2002, p. 429) also discusses the possibility of banning adjunction to C' based on examples like the ones in (94) and 95.

(94) **Why briefly did Sebastien hold the pistol?* (Ernst 2002, p. 429)

(95) *Where (*apparently) had the dog (apparently) gone?* (Ernst 2002, p. 429)

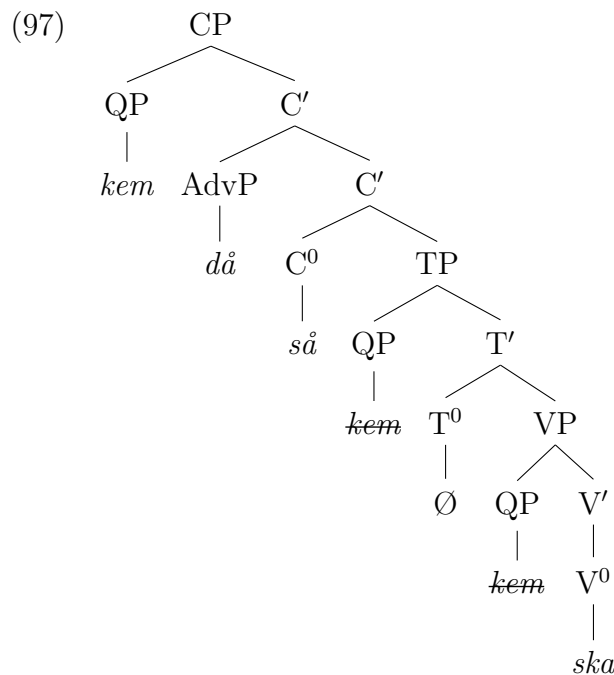
The foregoing examples, however, both involve different S-adverbs than the ones found in the *Wh*+*nå/då* construction, and can thus perhaps be excluded on grounds not applicable to *nå* and *då*.

Furthermore, according to Ernst (2002), there is in principle nothing excluding adjunction to bar-level in general, and he notes that “[i]f X' -adjunction is to be uniformly banned, then syntactic theory must compensate by adding (a) empty functional heads and/or (b) extra movement constraints and triggers” (2002, p. 391).²⁷ A liberal view on X' -level adjunction is also taken by Potsdam (1998), who gives examples of adjunction to C' (1998, section 2.3).

²⁷Such empty functional heads are the core of the highly influential work on adverbs within the cartographic framework by Cinque (1999) (but which I will not adopt here). According to Cinque, adverbs are to be treated as specifiers of unique functional projections between VP and CP (ordered in a universal hierarchy), and not as free adjuncts. This approach might make adjunction in general superfluous.

So, following Potsdam (1998) and Ernst (2002) (but contra Chomsky 1986a and Vikner 1995, p. 94), I will assume no restriction neither to adjunction to X' -level in general or to C' in particular. Of course, the *Wh+nå/då* construction can be taken as empirical support in favor of allowing C' adjunction on independent grounds.²⁸ Hence the tree structure that I suggest for a subject *wh*-question like (55b), repeated below as (96), is given in (97).

- (96) *Kem DÅ sã ska?*
 who then REL shall
 ‘Who’s going then?’ (NDC: gjesdal_01um)



Note that the finite verb is left as low as V^0 in (97). Westergaard (2009, pp. 47–48) argues that there is no verb movement at all in non-V2 *wh*-questions, due to the fact that the finite verb appears below negation and sentence adverbs, as illustrated in (98) below (Westergaard’s (33)).

²⁸As McCloskey (2006, p. 119, n.3), discussing restrictions on adjunction, points out, the adjunction approach and the Cinque approach are not necessarily incompatible: “It is perfectly possible, of course, that the relevant class of adverbs might originate in the specifier of a designated functional head, as in Cinque’s theory, and subsequently raise to the adjoined position that the discussion here assumes.” That is, adverb may rise from their original positions in the Cinque hierarchy to a higher position, e.g. for focus reasons.

- (98) *Kem som ikkje får kjøre?*
 who REL NEG gets drive-INF
 ‘Who doesn’t get to drive?’ (Westergaard 2009, p. 48)

I will follow Westergaard on this issue and argue that the finite verb remains in V^0 in non-V2 *wh*-questions, including *wh*-questions with the *Wh+nå/då* construction. This is supported by the authentic examples from the NDC and the Web in (99), and by the unacceptability of (100).

- (99) a. *Ka du ikkje får ner?*
 what you NEG get down
 ‘What can’t you eat?’ (NDC: stavanger_um01)
- b. *Ka nå du ikkje finne?*
 what now you NEG find
 ‘What can’t you find now?’ (URL 26)²⁹

- (100) ??*Ka du får ikkje ner?*
 what you get NEG down
 INTENDED: ‘What can’t you eat?’

Now, if we accept the adjunction structure in (97), we still have some unfinished business. The following questions still remain: Why are *nå* and *då* the only adverbs that can be adjoined to C' ? What licenses adjunction to C' ? In the light of these questions, to which I have no immediate answer, the adjunction analysis given above is not entirely satisfactory.

Even if we—in an attempt to avoid C' -adjunction—were to deviate temporarily from our unsplit CP and adopt a split CP structure along the lines of Rizzi (1997) and much subsequent work (Benincà 2001; Benincà and Poletto 2004; Rizzi 2001), the problem of why only *nå* and *då* occur in the *Wh+nå/då* construction still persists.

On the other hand, adopting a split CP could be advantageous in the sense that it would provide us with more room between Spec-CP and C^0 , as it includes separate Topic and Focus phrases between ForceP and FinP within the C system (cf. the structure in (11) on page 15).

²⁹Example (99b) is taken from the comment field on a blog and is written in dialect by a female from Stavanger.

Considering the fact that the adverbs *nå* and *då* in the *Wh+nå/då* construction always bear focal stress (although not necessarily contrastive, see Belletti 2004 and Benincà and Poletto 2004 for discussion of contrastive versus informational focus), it could be natural to assume that they are located in the Spec of Foc(us)P. But this again is problematic considering that Spec-FocP in Rizzi's original account is the landing site of the moved *wh*-constituent, which he argues competes with focalized elements, as the two cannot co-occur (in Italian, at least) (Rizzi 1997, p. 298). Moreover, *nå* and *då* also bear the characteristics of topics in the sense that they express old information given in the previous discourse, and can as such be analyzed as residing in Spec-Top(ic)P. According to Rizzi (1997, p. 291), topics are compatible with *wh*-constituents. Then again, topics are not taken to bear focal stress—as *nå* and *då* always do. A split-CP would thus induce new problems for discussion, as it is not immediately clear where to put what.

Having considered both an adjunction and a “functional specifier” approach to adverbs, we are still left with the question of why only *nå* and *då* are found in the *Wh+nå/då* construction. Neither have we come any closer to a solution to the inversion/non-inversion asymmetry problem. Why *nå* and *då* might be the only adverbs that can follow the *wh*-phrase will be the topic of the next section.

5.4.4 What is so special about *nå* ‘now’ and *då* ‘then’?

According to Faarlund et al. (1997, p. 1183) the adverbs *nå* ‘now’ and *da/då* ‘then’ have a special role in being the only so-called pro-words among temporal adverbs: “The only real pro-words for temporal adverbials are the adverbs *nå* ‘now’ and *da/då* ‘then’” (p. 1183).³⁰ Pro-words, they write, “are words that do not have a fixed reference defined on the basis of their contents; they get their reference from the context or the situation in which they are used” (p. 25).³¹ Could it be that it is their status as pro-words that make *nå* and *då* stand out from the rest? Or could it be their phonological simplicity? If this was the case, we would expect

³⁰My translation. The original passage in Norwegian: “Dei einaste eigentlege pro-orda for tidsadverbial er adverbja *nå/no* og *da/da/då*.”

³¹My translation. The original passage in Norwegian: “Pro-ord er ord som ikke har en fast referanse bestemt ut fra innholdet; de får sin referanse fra konteksten eller situasjonen de blir brukt i.”

other short pro-words, too, to appear in similar constructions. But they do not. Not even obvious candidates such as the monosyllabic *her* ‘here’, *der* ‘there’ or *før* ‘before’ can follow the *wh*-word without causing unacceptability, cf. (101).

- (101) **Ka her/der/før du ville?*
 what here/there/before you wanted
 INTENDED: ‘What did you want here/there/before?’

Interestingly, the above-mentioned pro-words also differ from *nå* and *då* when it comes to positions in cleft structures. *Her/der/før* cannot felicitously appear between the expletive of the cleft and the subject of the lower clause in *it*-clefts with *wh*-movement, as exemplified by the unacceptable (102).

- (102) **Ka va det her/der/før du ville?*
 what was it here/there/before you wanted
 INTENDED: ‘What was it that you wanted here/there/before?’

Similar structures with *nå* and *då* in the same position, however, are well-formed:

- (103) *Ka e det nå du seie? / Ka va det då du sa?*
 what is it now you say / what was it then you said
 ‘What is it that you are saying now?’ / ‘What was it that you said then?’

On the basis of (102) and (103) we can conclude that the ability of *nå* and *då* to appear immediately after the expletive in a cleft construction may be a key to understanding why only these two adverbs appear in the *Wh+nå/då* construction.

But the story does not end here. *It*-clefts with other adverbs in the same position, e.g. *egentlig* ‘really’, are acceptable, too:

- (104) *Kem va det egentlig så vant?*
 who was it really REL won
 ‘Who was it that really won?’

Considering (104), it seems that *egentlig* behave similarly to *nå* and *då* with respect to clefts. There is, however, one crucial difference between an adverb like *egentlig* on the one hand and the adverbs *nå* and *då* on the other. While *egentlig* can appear in clefts both with and without stress (cf. (105a) and (105b), respectively), *nå/då* cannot appear to the right of the expletive without stress (cf. (106)).

- (105) a. *Kem va det EGENTLIG så vant?*
 who was it really REL won
 ‘Who was it that REALLY won?’
- b. *Kem va det egentlig så VANT?*
 who was it really REL won
 ‘Who was it that really WON?’

Both examples in (105) are well-formed. By comparison, *nå* and *då* may not appear in the same position deaccented, with another constituent receiving main stress. It must be stressed, as in (106a). Crucially, (106b) is unacceptable (compare (105b) and (106b)).

- (106) a. *Kem va det DÅ så vant?*
 who was it then REL won
 ‘Who was it that won THEN?’
- b. ??*Kem va det då så VANT?*
 who was it then REL won
 INTENDED: ‘Who was it that WON then?’

Thus, it seems that it is their ability to appear immediately after the expletive in clefts, and that they are obligatorily stressed when appearing in this position, that makes *nå* and *då* stand out from the rest. I will look further into the relation between cleft constructions and the *Wh+nå/då* construction in section 5.4.5.

5.4.5 *Wh+nå/då* as elliptical clefts

I think Lie’s (1992) idea of non-V2 in *wh*-questions originating from cleft constructions is worth pursuing. His proposal seems especially relevant for non-V2 *wh*-questions with the *Wh+nå/då* construction, considering the examples of *nå* and *då* in cleft constructions given in 5.4.4.

Authentic examples similar to (103) and (106a) are found in the Nordic Dialect Corpus. Not only in Rogaland (107–108), but even in the neighboring county Aust-Agder (109). An example from the Web is (110).

- (107) *Ka va det NÅ du sa måmmår?*
 what was it now you said grandmother
 ‘What did you say now, grandmother?’ (NDC: time_04gk)

- (108) *Kem va de Nå så...*
 who was it now REL
 ‘Who was it that...’ [cut-off utterance] (NDC: gjesdal_02uk)
- (109) *Henn æ de DÅ du ska?*
 where is it then you shall
 ‘Where are you going then?’ [when leaving school] (NDC: evje_02uk)
- (110) *Ka e d nå så e blitt sagt da siden tråden*
 what is it now REL is become said then since thread-DEF
om bleietemae blei sletta nå igjen?
 about diper-theme-DEF was deleted now again
 ‘What is it that has been said now, since the thread about dipers was deleted once again?’ (URL 25)³²

What I will argue is that the *Wh+nå/då* construction can be derived from such clefts as the ones shown in (107–110) above. Moreover, I will argue that the *Wh+nå/då* construction is actually a case of ellipsis. That is, *Wh+nå/då*-questions are biclausal structures in which the copula and the expletive are elided.

Lie (1992) argues for non-V2 *wh*-questions deriving historically from clefts, partially on the basis of evidence for an intermediate stage in which only the expletive is deleted. The same view is taken by Vangsnes et al. (2010). Evidence of this stage is still found in the Rogaland dialects today, as shown in the examples from the NDC in (111).

- (111) a. *Kem e så he dei?*
 who is REL has them
 ‘Who has them?’ (NDC: sokndal_03gm)
- b. *Ka slags håddn va du måtte ha?*
 what kind-of horn was you had have-INF
 ‘What kind of horn did you have to have?’ (NDC: suldal_04gk)
- c. *Ka e dåkke har fårr någe?*
 what is you-PL have for something
 ‘What do you have?’ (NDC: hjelmeland_01um)

³²Example (110) is taken from the message board of an online forum about pregnancy, parenting and baby experiences, and is written in dialect by a female from Haugesund living in Randaberg.

The next stage, in which both the copula and the expletive are deleted, results in non-V2. This implies that the structures of (55b)/(61) and speaker B's second reply in (57), repeated below as (112) and (113), respectively, are underlyingly consisting of two CPs, as shown in (114) and (115).

- (112) *Kem DÅ sǎ ska?*
 who then REL shall
 'Who's going then?' (NDC: gjesdal_01um)

- (113) *Ka DÅ han tenkje på?*
 what then he thinks on
 'What does he have in mind then?' (NDC: time_04gk)

- (114) [_{CP} *Kem* ~~*e-det*~~ *dǎ* [_{CP} *sǎ ska?*]]

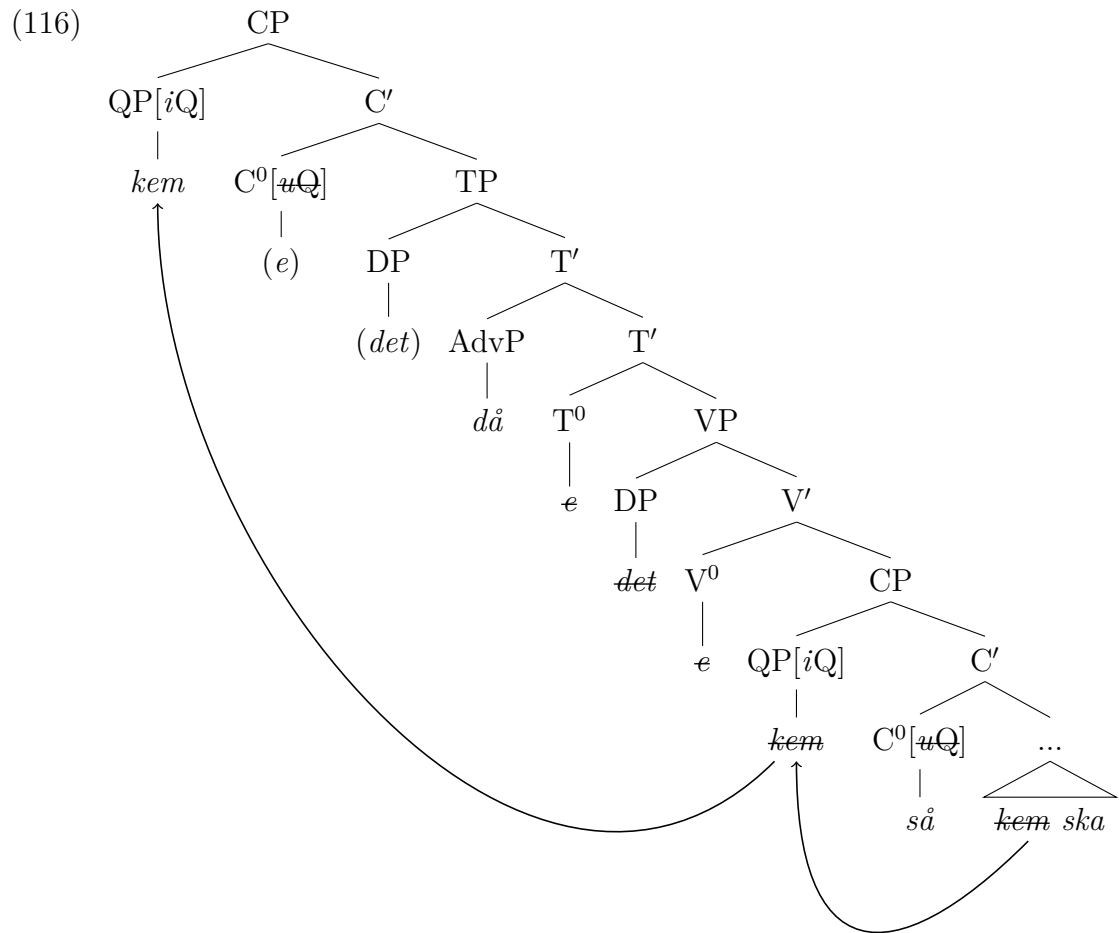
- (115) [_{CP} *Ka* ~~*e-det*~~ *dǎ* [_{CP} *han tenkje på?*]]

The resulting tree structure of (112) is shown in (116) on the next page, and the tree structure of (113) is shown in (117) on page 111.

Consider the derivation illustrated in (116). Starting out in Spec-VP in the embedded clause, the *wh*-word, carrying [*i*Q], moves (via the embedded Spec-TP, not shown in the tree) to the specifier of the embedded CP, where it deletes [*u*Q] on the embedded C⁰, before it ends up in Spec-CP of the main clause, deleting [*u*Q] on the matrix C⁰.

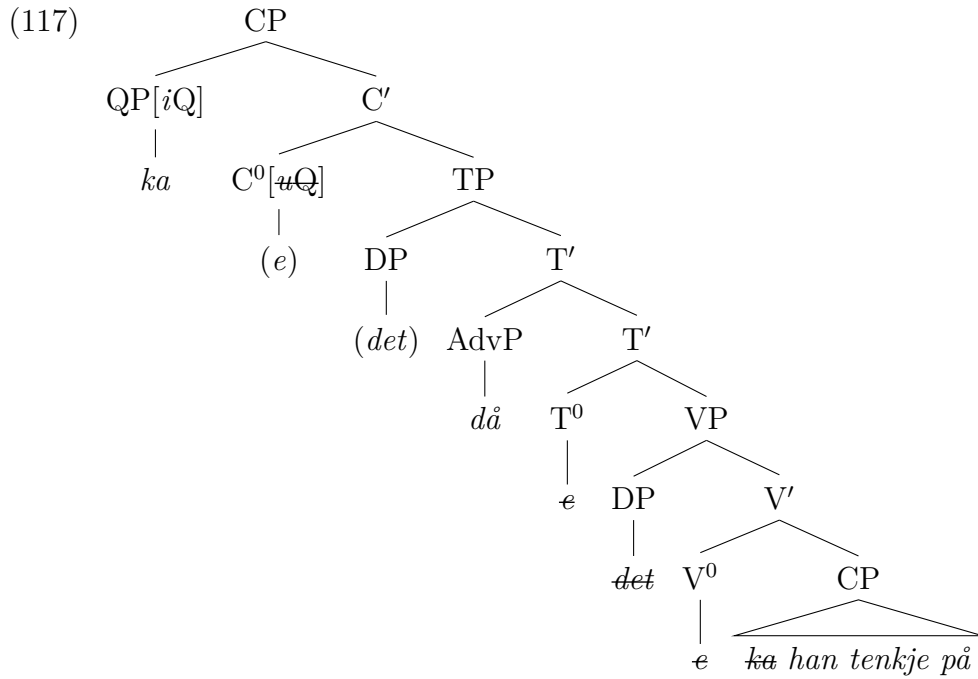
A welcome result of the ellipsis analysis is that it provides an explanation to the inversion/non-inversion asymmetry (cf. 5.3.3). Considering that *Wh*+*nǎ/dǎ* questions are underlyingly biclausal structures, the problem of explaining the unacceptability of (67) and (68), repeated below as (118) and (119), can be reduced to the more general question of why there is no verb movement in embedded questions in Norwegian (cf. chapter 2).

- (118) a. **Ka DÅ tenkje han på?*
 what then thinks he on
 INTENDED: 'What does he have in mind then?'
 b. **Kor NÅ he du våre?*
 where now have you been
 INTENDED: 'Where have you been now?'



- (119) a. **Kem* *Då* *ska*?
 who then shall
 INTENDED: 'Who's going then?'
 b. **Ka* *Nå* *skjer*?
 what now happens
 INTENDED: 'What's going on now?'

Just like embedded *wh*-questions in all varieties of Norwegian (cf. example (22) on page 22), *it*-clefts with *wh*-movement, too, are ungrammatical with subject-verb



inversion or the lack of the complementizer *så/som*, independent of whether *nå* or *då* is present. This is illustrated in (120) and (121) for non-subject and subject *wh*-questions, respectively.

- (120) **Kor e det (nå) he du våre?*
 where is it now have you been
 INTENDED: ‘Where have you been (now)?’

- (121) **Ka e det (nå) Ø skjer?*
 what is it now happens
 INTENDED: ‘What’s going on (now)?’

Hence the examples in (118) and (119) can be ruled out on the same grounds as (120) and (121), namely, by assumption, due to the uninterpretable T-feature in C^0 in embedded *wh*-questions lacking the EPP property. Considering that the verb remains in V^0 in all non-V2 *wh*-questions, as argued for in section 5.4.3, the T-feature in T^0 , too, must lack the EPP property.

Another advantage of analyzing *Wh+nå/då* as elliptical clefts is that we are able to maintain Åfarli and Eide's generalization that sentence adverbs are adjoined to T'. I have thus been able to account for the idiosyncrasy of *nå/då* without having to resort to a split-CP or new adjunction sites for adverbs. It could, of course, be that the *Wh+nå/då* construction is evidence for such adjunction sites, but the ellipsis analysis is more straightforward and provides a natural explanation to the inversion/non-inversion asymmetry.

5.4.6 *Wh+nå/då* and the *what for* construction

Things are further complicated if we take into account appearances of *Wh+nå/då* in the so-called *what for* construction. In (122) below *nå* seems to be baked into the phrase comprising *what for* and the following NP.

- (122) *Ka nå for någe bling du har handla deg mister?*
 what now for some bling you have bought yourself mister
 'What kind of bling have you bought yourself now, mister?' (URL 10)³³

Importantly, an equivalent structure with subject-verb inversion is unacceptable:

- (123) ??*Ka nå for någe bling har du handla deg?*
 what now for some bling have you bought yourself
 INTENDED: 'What kind of bling have you bought yourself now?'

As (123) shows, movement of the finite verb to the left of the subject causes unacceptability when *nå* immediately follows the *wh*-word. Without the preposed *nå*, however, both the non-inverted and the inverted structures are acceptable, as exemplified in (124) and (125).

- (124) *Ka for någe bling **du har** handla deg nå?*
 what for some bling you have bought yourself now
 'What kind of bling have you bought yourself now?'
- (125) *Ka for någe bling **har du** handla deg nå?*
 what for some bling have you bought yourself now
 'What kind of bling have you bought yourself now?'


³³Example (122) is written in dialect and taken from the message board on a Web site for people interested in radio-controlled cars.

At first glance, it might look like *nå* is an internal part of the *what for* phrase in (122). But appearances are deceiving. I will claim that (122) is a case of what is referred to as “*what for* split” (cf. Leu 2007, 2008), and that *nå* is not internal to the *what for* phrase. Thus (123) can be ruled out on the same grounds as any other “regular” *Wh+nå/då* construction with subject-verb inversion, namely because *Wh+nå/då* are elliptical clefts with biclausal structure. Hence the underlying structure of (122) is *Ka e det nå for någe bling du har handla, mister?* with the copula *e* ‘is’ and expletive *det* ‘it’ deleted. That is, in (122) *nå* is adjoined to T’ in the matrix clause, *ka* ‘what’ is raised to the matrix Spec-CP, while *for* ‘for’ and the NP *någe bling* ‘some bling’ is stranded in Spec-CP of the embedded clause.

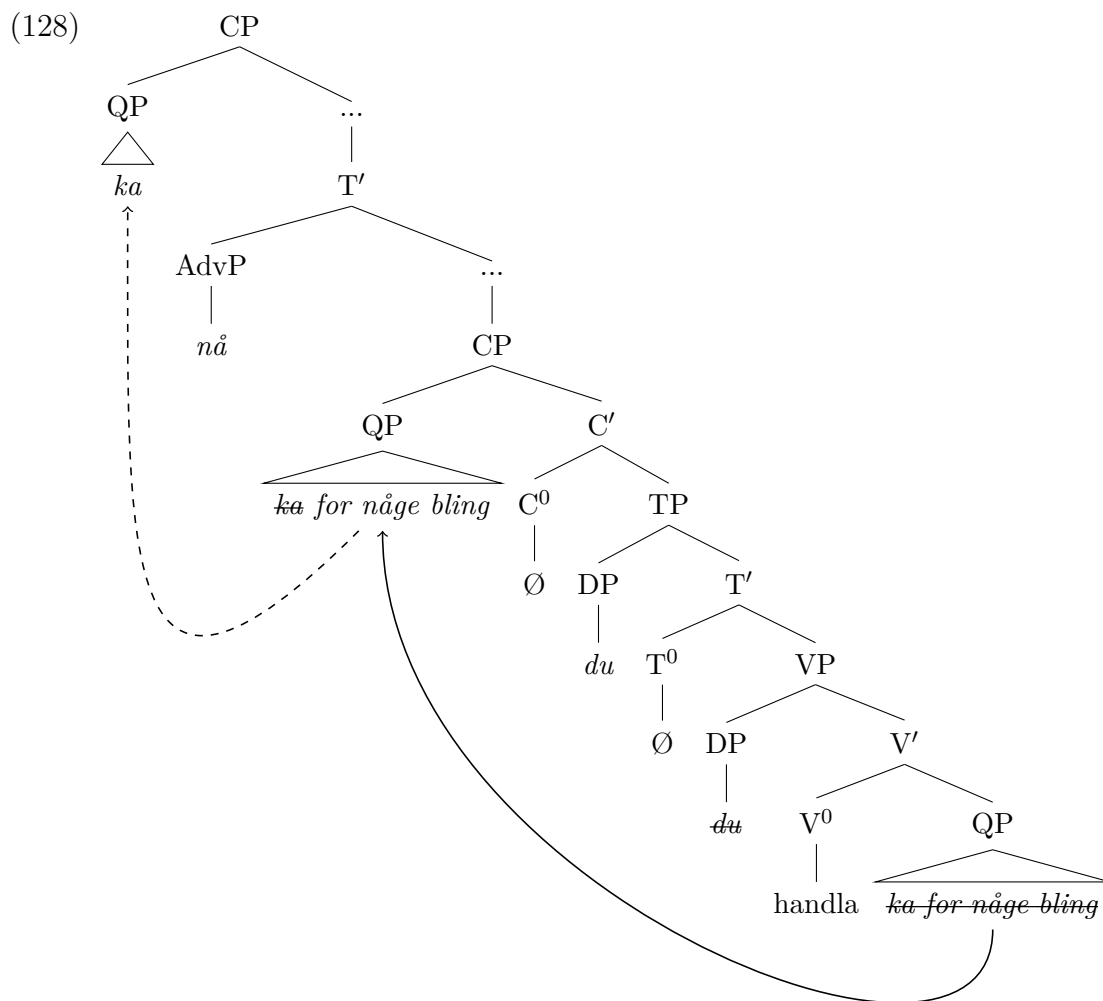
For expository convenience I will simplify (the VP part of) (122) into (126) before continuing the analysis.

- (126) *Ka nå for någe bling du handla?*
 what now for some bling you bought
 ‘What kind of bling did you buy now?’

In (127) (below) the borders of the *wh*-phrase are indicated with angled brackets <...> to show how the *wh*-phrase in (126) moves successive-cyclically from its original object position in Comp-VP of the embedded clause (where it was merged) via Spec-CP of the embedded clause, and up to Spec-CP of the matrix clause. First, the *wh*-word *ka* ‘what’ pied-pipes its phrase-internal “argument” NP *for någe bling* ‘for some bling’ (abbreviated *f.n.b.* in (127)) to Spec-CP of the embedded clause. Then, the bare *wh*-word *ka*, bearing [*i*Q], moves further up to the topmost Spec-CP where it deletes [*u*Q] on matrix C⁰, stranding *for någe bling* in the specifier of the embedded CP. The embedded C⁰ position is empty due to its [*u*T (–EPP)], and the subject DP *du* ‘you’ is left in Spec-TP of the embedded clause.

- (127) [_{CP} <Ka> nå [_{CP} <~~ka~~ for någe bling> du handla <~~ka~~ f.n.b.>?]]
- 

The tree structure of the derivation of (126) is showed in (128) on the following page. Features are omitted in (128) because of space limitations, and so is the



most of the matrix clause (except the positions hosting overt material), including the elided copula and expletive of the cleft (which reside above *nå*, which again is adjoined to matrix T'). (See (116) and (117) for full structure of the matrix part of such clefts.) I have nothing to say about the internal structure of the QP/WhP in these cases, but it is not a trivial question (see Leu 2007, 2008 for extensive

discussion).

The claim that the position of *nå* in (122) and (126) is not due to *nå* being an internal part of the *what for* phrase, but rather the result of ellipsis of the copula *å være* ‘to be’ and the expletive *det* ‘it’ in a cleft construction, is supported by the fact that the *Wh+nå/då* construction is observed in combination with *what for* constructions in which the *for*+NP part of the *what for* phrase is located in different positions than the one in (122) and (126). This is exemplified in the authentic examples from the Web in (129) and (130) below.

- (129) **Ka** *nå du skal finna på for noe spennende?*
 what now you shall find on for something exciting
 ‘What kind of exciting stuff are you up to now?’ (URL 16)³⁴

- (130) **Ka** *for noge stiligt er det nå du håller på med?*
 what for something stylish is it now you hold on with
 ‘What kind of cool stuff is it you are doing now?’ (URL 17)³⁵

In (129) we have a combination of *Wh+nå/då* and *what for* split, with the *for*+NP part stranded in Comp-VP of the lower clause. In (130) the whole *what for* phrase is fronted, with an overt cleft separating it and *nå*.

I will not give full examples of all the possible word orders allowed in co-occurrences of the *Wh+nå/då* construction and the *what for* construction, but a simplified overview of the allowed combinations is given in (131) (in which the copula is shown in its present tense form *er* ‘is’ and the expletive as *det* ‘it’).

- (131) a. [_{CP} *Wh-word+for+NP er det nå/då* [_{CP} subject V_{fin}]]
 b. [_{CP} *Wh-word+for+NP nå/då* [_{CP} subject V_{fin}]]
 c. [_{CP} *Wh-word er det nå/då* [_{CP} *for+NP* subject V_{fin}]]
 d. [_{CP} *Wh-word nå/då* [_{CP} *for+NP* subject V_{fin}]]
 e. [_{CP} *Wh-word er det nå/då* [_{CP} subject V_{fin} *for+NP*]]
 f. [_{CP} *Wh-word nå/då* [_{CP} subject V_{fin} *for+NP*]]

³⁴Example (129) is taken from the forum on the home page for Stavanger Parachute Club, and is written in dialect by a male skydiver from Sola.

³⁵Example (130) is taken from the comment field on a blog and is written in dialect by a female from Karmøy living in Ålgård.

Thus (122) and (126) are instances of (131d), while (129) equals (131f), and (130) equals (131a).

5.4.7 *Wh+na/då* and sluicing

The *Wh+na/då* construction may also be related to so-called sluicing constructions (Ross 1969). Consider the examples in (132) and (133).

- (132) A: *Å det tellet så me låg i det va jo heilt*
 and that tent-DEF REL we lay in it was yes wholly
totalt bomba.
 totally bombed
 ‘And that tent we slept in, it was totally messy.’ (NDC: sokndal_01um)

- B: *Ka Då for?*
 what then for
 ‘Why?’ (NDC: sokndal_02uk)

- (133) A: *Dette blir ukas siste gode middag dette her.*
 this becomes week-DEF-GEN last good supper this here
 ‘This will be the last good supper of the week.’ (BBC: Rodney)

- B: *Ka Då for?*
 what then for
 ‘Why?’ (BBC: Anne Mona)³⁶

Svendsen (1931, pp. 31–32, p. 60), too, has examples of *ka* and a stranded preposition (*itte* ‘after’) in the meaning ‘why’. Just like the *hvorfor det* ‘why that’, found in Standard Norwegian, the *ka då for* ‘what then for’ in the Rogaland dialects can only be used in sluicing, as shown in (134).

- (134) A: *Du burde smaga!*
 you should taste
 ‘You should taste!’

³⁶The informant Anne Mona is from the town of Flekkefjord, which is in Vest-Agder county, however just across the border from Rogaland (see the map in figure 4.3 on page 60). The municipality of Flekkefjord borders Rogaland county (the municipalities of Sokndal and Lund) to the west.

B: *Ka då for?*

what then for

‘Why?’

B': **Ka då for burde eg smaga?*

what then for should I taste

‘Why should I taste?’

This type of construction is not limited to the pattern with *for* ‘for’ as shown above, but can be found with any other preposition as well. E.g. the preposition *te* ‘to’, as exemplified in (135), or *fra* ‘from’, as in (136).

(135) A: *Nå ska eg på besøk te någon.*

now shall I on visit to someone

‘Now I’m going on a visit to someone.’

B: *Kem då te?*

who then to

‘To whom (then)?’

(URL 11)³⁷

(136) A: *Eg har funne kjolen min eg, billig e an og! Så nå*

I have found dress-DEF my I, cheap is he too so now

må eg bare bestille an!

must I just order him

‘I’ve found my dress, and it’s cheap, too! Now I just need to order it!’

B: *Kor då fra?*

where then from

‘From where (then)?’

(URL 12)³⁸

Note that *då* must be stressed in these constructions, and that no other element can receive stress, as exemplified in (137).

(137) a. **Kor då FRA?*

where then from

INTENDED: ‘From where?’

³⁷The conversation in example (135) is taken from the message board of a blog and is written in dialect by a ten year old boy from Gjesdal (A) and thirteen year old girl from Gjesdal (B).

³⁸The conversation in example (136) is written in dialect and is taken from the blog of a female who has stated her location as ‘Rogaland’ (person B). From the conversations on the blog it appears that both A and B are from the town of Sandnes.

- b. **KOR då fra?*
 where then from
 INTENDED: ‘From where?’

Importantly, the word order in B’s replies in (135) and (136) is not readily acceptable in Standard Norwegian. According to Faarlund et al. (1997, p. 940), the preposition preferably precedes the *wh*-word in sluices like (135) (i.e. pied-piping resulting in a structure like *Til hvem da?*, literally ‘to whom then’).

I will argue that the *Wh*+*då*+preposition constructions found in sluicing, too, are cases of elliptical clefts. This is supported by the following examples.

- (138) *Kem då du får besøg av?*
 who then you get visit from
 ‘Who will you get a visit from then?’ (URL 13)

- (139) *Kem då du ska spela med?*
 who then you shall play with
 ‘Who are you going to play with then?’ (URL 14)

And further elaborated structures:

- (140) *Ka va’ det då du brølte for?*
 what was it then you howled for
 ‘What did you howl for, then?’ (Jacobsen 2003b, p. 123)

- (141) *Ka e’ det då me trur med?*
 what is it then we believe with
 ‘What do we believe with, then?’ (Jacobsen 2003a, p. 168)

Moreover, the examples of sluicing from the Rogaland dialects bear a striking resemblance to sluicing phenomena in Frisian and dialectal Dutch as discussed by van Craenenbroeck (2004, 2010a,b). Consider the dialogue in (142), which is an example in Frisian from van Craenenbroeck (2010b).

- (142) A: *Jan hat juster in praatsje holden.*
 John has yesterday a talk held
 ‘John gave a talk yesterday.’

B: *Wêr dat oer?*
 where that_{DEM} about
 ‘What about?’

(Van Craenenbroeck 2010b, p. 68)

I will let van Craenenbroeck (2010b, p. 68) himself explain what is going on in the Frisian example in (142): “In B’s reply in this dialogue, a sluiced *wh*-phrase (in this case the R-pronoun *wêr* ‘where’) is followed by the demonstrative pronoun *dat* ‘that’, which is in turn followed by the stranded preposition *oer* ‘about’. As such, this example combines spading with swiping.” The so-called “spading” and “swiping” phenomena are subtypes of sluicing; the former is an acronym for *Sluicing Plus A Demonstrative In Non-insular Germanic* (van Craenenbroeck 2004), while the latter is short for *Sluiced Wh-word Inversion with Prepositions In Northern Germanic* (Merchant 2002). I will not go into details, but one of the central points in van Craenenbroeck’s (2010b) analysis of the construction in B’s reply in (142) is that he takes it to be derived from an underlying cleft.

Chapter 6

Non-V2 in the Rogaland dialects: *om*-questions

6.1 Introduction

I repeat from chapter 1 some of the questions I wish to answer in this chapter:

- (i) Are main clause *om*-questions “really” embedded structures?
- (ii) Why are *om*-questions never found with V2 word order, i.e., why is there no V⁰-to-C⁰ movement in *om*-questions?
- (iii) Why does the *Om+då* construction always have V3 word order, while the *Wh+nå/då* construction always has (at least) V4?

This chapter starts out with a descriptive introduction to *om*-questions in section 6.2. In 6.3 I raise the question of whether *om*-questions can be regarded as embedded structures, given their similarity to embedded *yes/no*-questions. In 6.4 the status of *om* as a head element in C⁰ is questioned. Section 6.5 concerns the question of why there is no V⁰-to-C⁰ movement in *om*-questions. In sections 6.6 and 6.7 the so-called “*Om+då* construction” is introduced and analyzed.

6.2 *Om*-questions: some general background

In Standard Norwegian as well as every Norwegian dialect, main clause *yes/no*-questions are normally formed by subject-verb inversion, involving T⁰-to-C⁰ movement. This was shown in detail in sections 2.2.3 and 2.3.3 in chapter 2. An example was (19), repeated in (143) below.

- (143) *Hørte du vipa allerede i februar?*
 heard you lapwing-DEF already in February
 ‘Did you hear the lapwing already in February?’

The Rogaland dialects display an additional, distinct way of forming matrix *yes/no*-questions not found in any other part of Norway, namely by inserting the (always unstressed) element *om* sentence-initially, to an otherwise (non-topicalized, subject-initial) declarative word order, as shown in (144).

- (144) *Om du hørte vipa allerede i februar?*
 whether you heard lapwing-DEF already in February
 ‘Did you hear the lapwing already in February?’

The type of construction in (144) is what is called an *om*-question. This way of asking polar questions coexists with the standard inverted word order in (143) in

the Rogaland dialects.^{1,2}

Importantly, *om*-questions are never found with subject-verb inversion. The sequence in (145) is ill-formed.

- (145) **Om hørt du vibå allerede i februar?*
 whether heard you lapwing-DEF already in February
 INTENDED: ‘Did you hear the lapwing already in February?’

Topicalization is not allowed in *om*-questions, hence (146) is starred out. Apart from one exception (which I have named the *Om+da* construction, and to which I will return in sections 6.6 and 6.7), *om* is always followed by the subject.

- (146) **Om vibå har du hørt?*
 whether lapwing-DEF have you heard
 INTENDED: ‘Have you heard the lapwing?’

Examples of spontaneously produced *om*-questions can be found in speech corpora. I have found approximately a dozen *om*-questions in the NDC, and the findings bear

¹For the sake of exhaustiveness, it is perhaps worth pointing out that *om*-questions must not be confused with echo questions introduced by *om*. As echo questions, main clause questions introduced by *om* are grammatical in Standard Norwegian as well as every other Norwegian dialect. This is illustrated in the following excerpts of conversations from the NoTa-Oslo Corpus (cf. section 4.4.2) and the Nordic Dialect Corpus, respectively, in which speaker B’s replies are echo questions.

- (i) A: *Ja var n noe bra han da?*
 yes was he any good he then
 ‘Was he any good then?’
 B: *Hæ? Om han var noe bra?*
 what whether he was any good
 Echo: ‘What? Was he any good?’ (NOC)
- (ii) A: *Trur du vi er påvirka ifra Sverige da?*
 think you we are influenced from Sweden then
 ‘Do you think we’re influenced by Sweden then?’
 B: *Om vi er påvirket fra Sverige?*
 whether we are influenced from Sweden
 Echo: ‘Are we influenced by Sweden?’ (NDC)

It is important to realize that the *om*-questions found in the Rogaland dialects have a special intonation pattern, easily distinguishable from the contour of echo questions.

²Main clause phenomena akin to *om*-questions are found in questions introduced by *åm* in Solf Swedish (Östman 1986) and *ob* in German (e.g. Meibauer 1989, Truckenbrodt 2006 and references cited therein). Also, as briefly mentioned in section 3.3.1, Vangsnes (1996) compares the *om*-questions in the Rogaland dialects to similar constructions in Estonian, Finnish and Old Norse.

witness to a geographically widespread phenomenon: *Om*-questions are attested in six out of seven measuring points in Rogaland (Gjesdal, Karmøy, Sokndal, Stavanger, Suldal, and Time). Some of the occurrences are reproduced below.

- (147) a. *Om me kan ha is?*
 whether we can have ice
 ‘Can we have ice cream?’ (NDC: gjesdal_02uk)
- b. *Om dåkk ska te Oslo?*
 whether you-PL shall to Oslo
 ‘Are you going to Oslo?’ (NDC: karmøy_02uk)
- c. *Om du føle opp gjennom tiå at du he blitt utsatt for motepræss?*
 whether you-sg. feel up through time that you have been exposed for fashion-pressure
 ‘Do you feel that you have been exposed to MOTEPRESS? through time(?)?’ (NDC: sokndal_01um)
- d. *Om du lige ‘Mannen som elsket Yngve’?*
 whether you like man-DEF who loved Yngve
 ‘Do you like ‘Mannen som elsket Yngve’?’ (NDC: stavanger_02uk)
- e. *Om det va defor atte det blei likså litt somme skjer og litt brunig i seg?*
 whether that was because that it became like little some tint and little brownish in itself
 Roughly: ‘Is that why it got sort of a little tinted and brownish?’ (NDC: suldal_04gk)
- f. *Om me ska opp me skulen?*
 whether we shall up with school-def
 ‘Are we going up with school?’ (NDC: time_01um)

The only measuring point where *om*-questions are not attested is Hjelmeland. The informants in Hjelmeland in the NSJD also gave a low score on the *om*-questions in the acceptability task, as shown in table 6.1 on page 126.

Before I end this background section on *om*-questions, I would like to bring up a few observations concerning their function. Consider the made-up dialogues in (148) and (149), in which speaker A makes a statement to which speaker B

replies in the form of a question. B's replies are only felicitous in form of standard, inverted *yes/no*-questions.

(148) A: *Eg e kje så gla i fisk, eg.*
 I am NEG so glad in fish I
 'Me, I don't fancy fish.'

B: *E du kje?*
 are you NEG
 'You don't?'

B': ??*Om du e kje?*
 whether you are NEG
 INTENDED: 'You don't?'

(149) A: *Eg elske fisk!*
 I love fish
 'I love fish!'

B: *Gjør du?*
 do you
 'Do you?'

B': ??*Om du gjør?*
 whether you do
 INTENDED: 'Do you?'

The point I wish to express with the examples in (148) and (149) is that it seems clear that *om*-questions are more likely to be used when asking "out of the blue," and not when questioning something already introduced in the preceding discourse.

6.3 Are *om*-questions embedded structures?

In section 3.3.1 Vangsnes' (1996) view on Lie's (1992) proposal that *om*-questions may be elliptical, biclausal structures in which the matrix part is deleted was discussed. On the basis of the observed word order *Vfin > sentence adverb* (cf. (37b)), which is unacceptable in embedded questions, the ellipsis analysis was rejected. I agree with Vangsnes on this point. Below I will present more empirical evidence against analyzing main clause *om*-questions as embedded structures.

Table 6.1: Judgment data from NSJD, *om*-questions, mean scores

test sentence / measuring point	Gjesdal	Hjelmeland	Karmøy
<i>Om du har vært i Tromsø?</i>	5	2	3 ^a
<i>Om du har aldri vært i Tromsø?</i>	2	2	1

test sentence / measuring point	Sokndal	Stavanger	Suldal	Time ^b
<i>Om du har vært i Tromsø?</i>	3	5	3 ^a	5
<i>Om du har aldri vært i Tromsø?</i>	1	4	1	5

^aBoth younger informants gave 5, both older gave 1.

^bOnly three informants answered the questionnaire in Time.

The first piece of evidence comes from judgment data from the NSJD. As shown in table 6.1 on the current page, the NSJD includes the sentence in (150), in which the finite verb precedes the sentence adverb *aldri* ‘never’.

- (150) *Om du har aldri vært i Tromsø?*
 whether you have never been in Tromsø
 ‘Have you never been to Tromsø?’

In table 6.1 we see that the word order *Vfin > sentence adverb* was judged acceptable by informants in Stavanger and Time.

A second piece of evidence comes from the position of the negation word *ikke* ‘not’, which is found in three different positions in *om*-questions, as shown in (151–153). The crucial example is (153), in which *Vfin* has moved across negation.

- (151) *Om iche du hadde kontakt me Iselin før?*
 whether NEG you had contact with Iselin before
 ‘Didn’t you have contact with Iselin earlier?’ (URL 29)

- (152) *Om dårr ikkje e messte nabn på adle... på mange*
 whether there NEG is almost names on all on many

markje?

fields

‘Aren’t there names for every... for many fields?’ (NDC: gjesdal_04gk)

- (153) *Om du e che sammen me Philip lenger?*
 whether you is NEG together with Philip longer

‘Aren’t you and Philip still together?’ (URL 30)

Om-questions also license negative polarity items (NPIs). This is illustrated with the NPI *noengang* ‘ever’ (literally ‘any time’) in (154) and (155).

- (154) *Om du har någen gang startet stevner på Strand Rideskole på Jørpeland?*
 whether you have ever started competitions on Strand
 equestrian-school on Jørpeland

‘Have you ever started equestrian competitions at Strand Rideskole at Jørpeland?’ (URL 27)³

- (155) *Om dåkk har någen gong spist så mye popcorn at dåkk har blitt lei?*
 whether you-PL have ever eaten so much popcorn that
 you-PL have become fed up

‘Have you ever eaten so much popcorn that you have become fed up?’ (URL 28)⁴

As evident from the above examples, the finite verb moves across the NPI to T⁰. By comparison, such verb movement is disallowed in embedded *yes/no*-questions:

- (156) **Jeg lurer på om du har noen gang spist så mye popcorn.*
 I wonder on whether you have ever eaten so much
 popcorn

INTENDED: ‘I wonder whether you have ever eaten that much popcorn.’

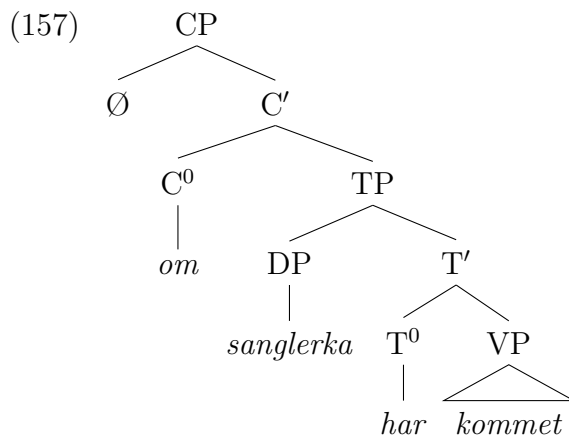
Based on the examples above, I conclude that *om*-questions cannot be regarded as embedded structures with a deleted matrix clause.

³Example (154) is taken from the guestbook of user profile on a website for people interested in horseback riding, and is written in dialect by a twenty-three year old female from Tau in Rogaland.

⁴Example (155) is taken from a blog post written in dialect by a male from Sandnes.

6.4 Is *om* really a head?

Many authors (e.g. Platzack 1998, pp. 107–109; Vangsnes 1996; Vikner 1995, p. 50 and pp. 119–124; Åfarli 2000, pp. 44–45; Åfarli and Eide 2003, p. 72) argue that the *om* that introduces embedded interrogatives and conditional clauses in Norwegian is a head located in C^0 , which is the position occupied by complementizers like *at* ‘that’ and *som* ‘that/which’. So the tree structure of the embedded *yes/no*-questions in (24a) would be like in (157) (with irrelevant details suppressed).



I will, however, argue that *om* is best treated as an XP instead of an X^0 , i.e. occupying Spec-CP, rather than C^0 . Doing so is not controversial if we consider *om* to be the Norwegian counterpart of English *whether*. Several works in the literature consider *whether* an XP (e.g. Chomsky 1995; Kayne 1991; Larson 1985). Kayne (1991 p. 666) says that “... *whether* is not a lexical complementizer, but a *wh*-phrase (that is, it is not a C^0 , but a phrase in the Specifier position of CP) ...”.

I will take the same view on Norwegian *om*. This is mainly based on two observations, namely that (i) we find the sequence *om at* ‘whether that’ in main clause *om*-questions, and (ii) *om* induces island effects. This will be discussed below.

6.4.1 The sequence *om at* ‘whether that’

Om may optionally appear together with the complementizer *at* ‘that’ in both matrix and embedded questions, as illustrated in (158) and 159, respectively:

- (158) a. *Åm atte nogen av bildene e tatt på Vagle?*
 whether that any of photos-def are taken on Vagle
 “Are any of the photos taken at Vagle?” (URL 35)⁵
- b. *Åm atte du har julekort bildene våre på pcen?*
 whether that you have christmas card photos-def ours on PC-def
 ‘Do you have our christmas card photos on the PC?’ (URL 36)⁶
- (159) a. *Eg bare lurte bare på [ām atte eg kan få kopiera d bilde du har av Bacon?]*
 I just wondered just on [whether that I can get copy-inf that photo-def you have of Bacon]
 ‘I just wondered whether I could copy that photo you have of Bacon?’ (URL 33)⁷
- b. *Me æ to jente frå Jæren så lure på [om atte dæ æ normalt att me he sex mæ kvarandre]*
 we are two girls from Jæren that wonder on [whether that it is normal that we have sex with each other]
 ‘We’re two girls from Jæren who are wondering whether it’s normal that we’re having sex with each other’ (URL 34)⁸

The sequence *om at* ‘whether that’ is not mentioned by Vangsnes (1996), hence he does not discuss this phenomenon. This co-occurrence of *whether* and *that* is the same argument that van Gelderen (2004, pp. 92–96) takes as an indication of

⁵Ex. (158) is taken from the guestbook of a member of an online dog market, and is written in dialect by a fifteen-year-old female from Sandnes.

⁶Ex. (158) is taken from a guestbook on a social networking site, and is written in dialect by an eighteen-year-old female from Sola.

⁷Ex. (159) is taken from the guestbook of a member of an online horse market, and is written in dialect by a sixteen-year-old female from Ålgård.

⁸Ex. (159) is taken from a Q&A page on an online health information site for young people. It was asked anonymously, but evidently the contributors are from Rogaland.

whether being an XP in Spec-CP in Old English and Middle English (see also van Gelderen 2009).

6.4.2 Island effects

Om can be argued to induce weak island effects, as *wh*-movement out of embedded *om*-clauses results in degraded acceptability. This is expected if *om* is an XP located in Spec-CP of the embedded clause as long as the *wh*-word moves successive-cyclically through the embedded Spec-CP on its way to matrix Spec-CP. The embedded Spec-CP is filled by *om*, which blocks *wh*-movement out of the embedded clause.

- (160) ??*Hvor lurer du på om hun hørte tjelden?*
 where wonder you on whether she heard oystercatcher-DEF
 ‘Where do you wonder whether she heard the oystercatcher?’

- (161) ??*Hvordan spurte du om han fanget fisken?*
 how asked you whether he caught fish-DEF
 ‘How did you ask whether he caught the fish?’

- (162) ??*Hva spurte du om han hadde i sekken?*
 what asked you whether he had in bag-DEF
 ‘What did you ask whether he had in the bag?’

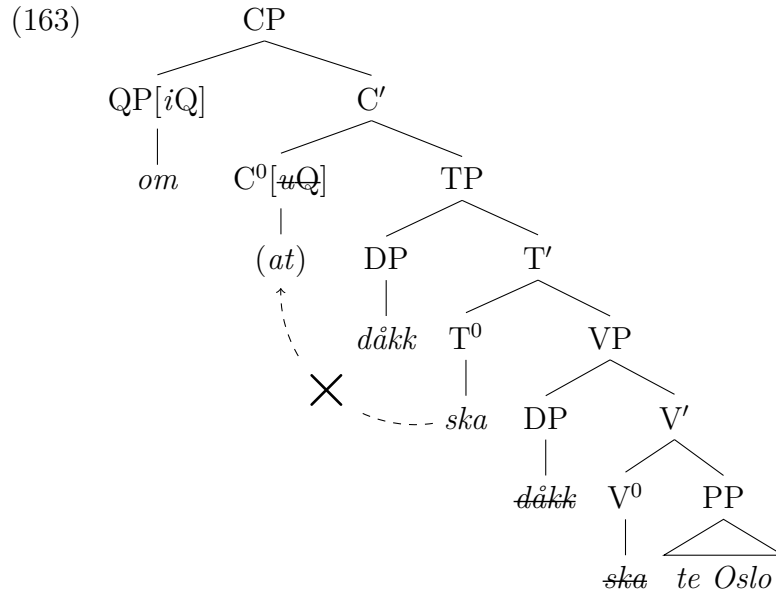
In (160) only the matrix reading is available: It is where the wondering took place, and not the hearing, which is asked for. Similarly, (161) can only be interpreted as a question about how the asking was performed, not how the fish was caught. The acceptability is probably somewhat higher, however, when a *wh*-argument is moved, as in (162).

I take the unacceptability of the above examples as evidence in support of *om* being an XP in Spec-CP (and not a head in C⁰).

6.5 Why is there no V⁰-to-C⁰ movement in *om*-questions?

Analyzing *om* as an XP in Spec-CP reopens the question of why there is no T⁰-to-C⁰ movement in *om*-questions, as the assumption of *om* residing in C⁰ (and thus blocking movement) is now excluded. The C⁰ position is empty and may well function as a landing site for V_{fin} if *om* is located in Spec-CP. So why is there no movement to C⁰ in *om*-questions if *om* sits in Spec-CP?

As shown in 6.4.1 *om* may co-occur with *at*. I will argue that C⁰ bears a [*u*T (–EPP)] feature that optionally allows the overt *at* in C⁰. Thus the structure I argue for is shown in the tree in (163).



Cheng (1991) gives the following prediction made by the CTH and the Principle of Economy: No language has *yes/no*-particles (and thus *wh*-particles) and also syntactic movement. Thus, if Vangsnes (1996) is right in his analysis with respect to *om* being reanalyzed as a pure question particle located in C⁰, its only contribution being to mark the sentence as a *yes/no*-question, then the *om*-questions found in Rogaland would be a counterexample to the CTH. My claim, however, is that the *om* in *om*-questions in the Rogaland dialects is not a typing particle in the sense of Cheng (1991). It behaves more like a *wh*-word (always fronted, and located in

Spec-CP). We are thus able to maintain the CTH.

6.6 Introducing the *Om+da* construction

A phenomenon not mentioned by Vangsnes (1996) is *om*-questions in which *om* is followed by *da* ‘then’, a construction I have chosen to name “the *Om+da* construction”. Examples are given below (please excuse the lexical contents, but authentic examples of this construction are hard to find).

- (164) a. *Eg har tenkt å lasta ner sony vegas fra piratebay,*
 I have thought to load down sony vegas from piratebay,
men åmm da e eg nøtt å cracka dt å masse
 but whether then am I forced to crack-INF it and lots
sånn piss?
 such piss
 ‘I’m planning to download Sony Vegas from Pirate Bay, but will I have
 to crack it and all such bullshit then?’ (URL 31)⁹
- b. *Når eg ser porn så krible d i muså på ein*
 when I watch porn then tingle it in mouse-DEF on a
måde. Om da e eg kåde?
 way whether then am I aroused
 ‘When I’m watching porn my vagina kind of tingles. Am I aroused
 then?’ (URL 32)

This is also a piece of evidence against an analysis of *om*-questions as embedded structures, as the structure in (164) is not found in embedded questions.

Note that in those cases where *da* is fronted to the position immediately after *om*, the subject must follow the finite verb, hence (165) is unacceptable.

- (165) **Om da eg e nødt å cracka det?*
 whether then I am forced to crack it
 ‘Will I have to crack it then?’

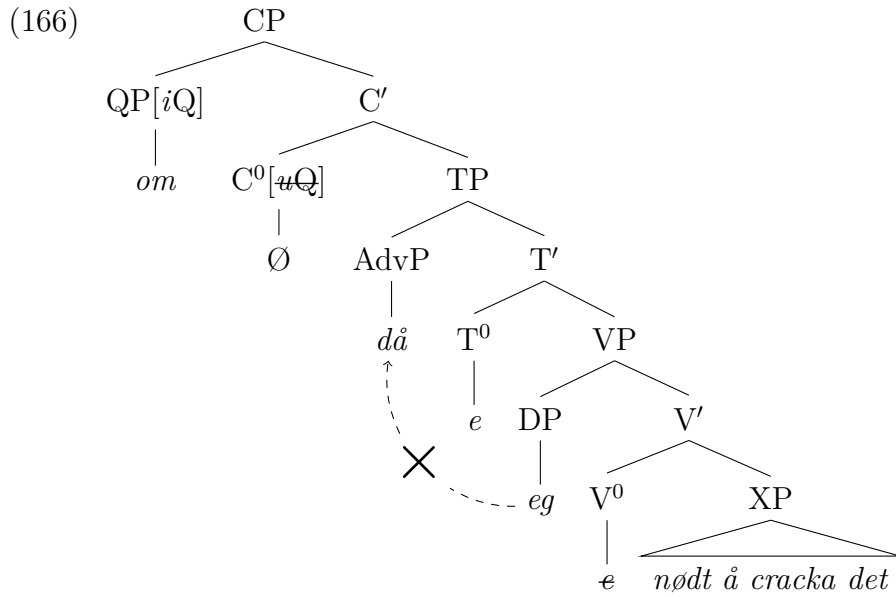
⁹Ex. (164) is taken from the online forum of a snowboarding site, and is written in dialect by a seventeen-year-old male from Stavanger.

6.7 Analyzing the *Om+då* construction

In the *Om+då* construction, *då* is always preceded by the complementizer *at* if they co-occur. This is the opposite of the *Wh+nå/då* construction, in which *nå/då* precede the complementizer *så/som*. Thus we have the following order of elements: *at* > *då* > *så*.

I take this as evidence for *då* reciding below C in *om*-questions. Specifically, I argue that *då* is located in Spec-TP in the *Om+då* construction. There is support in the literature for this: “The relative distribution of *ba/þonne* and subject pronouns [...] indicate that these elements compete for the same structural position, Spec-TP” (Trips and Fuß 2009, p. 191). The *då* is always referential, and “nominal in nature” (cf. Trips and Fuß 2009, p. 184).

The structure of the question in (164) is shown in (166).



Chapter 7

Summary

7.1 Summary

My findings are summarized in tables 7.1 and 7.2.

A few comments to table 7.1 are in order. Recall from chapter 2 that I follow Pesetsky and Torrego (2001) (cf. section 2.4.1) and take the EPP to be a subfeature/property of a feature of a head. Hence the +EPP property of [uQ] on the interrogative C^0 head requires some overt material to delete [uQ]. In *wh*-questions this deletion takes place by *wh*-movement to Spec-CP. This is the case in both V2 and non-V2 *wh*-questions. In contrast, [uQ (–EPP)] does not require deletion of [uQ] by overt material, as is the case with standard, inverted *yes/no*-questions, in which [uQ] is taken to be deleted by merger of a phonologically null question operator (called Q-op in table 7.1).¹

The [uT (+EPP)] is deleted by verb movement to C^0 . It is, however, not obvious from the theoretical background presented in chapter 2 how [uT (–EPP)] on C^0 is deleted in non-V2 *wh*-questions or in *om*-questions, which both lack verb movement to C^0 . In Pesetsky and Torrego (2001, p. 380) [uT (–EPP)] is assumed to be deleted by Agree (an operation which I have not employed in this

¹Pesetsky and Torrego (2001) focus on *wh*-questions, and do not say anything specifically about main clause *yes/no*-questions. Hence it is not perfectly clear how to apply their technical apparatus to *yes/no*-questions. But I assume that it is the EPP property of an uninterpretable feature that requires it to be deleted by overt material. Then the [uQ] on C^0 in a standard, inverted *yes/no*-question (e.g. (19)), in which there is no overt material in Spec-CP, must lack the EPP feature.

Table 7.1: Summary of properties of *wh*- and *yes/no*-questions

<i>Main clause</i> <i>wh-questions</i>	Non-V2 (Rogaland dialects)	V2 (Standard Norwegian)
Features of C ⁰ :	[<i>uQ</i> (+EPP)], [<i>uT</i> (−EPP)]	[<i>uQ</i> (+EPP)], [<i>uT</i> (+EPP)]
Deletion of [<i>uQ</i>]:	by <i>wh</i> -movement	by <i>wh</i> -movement
Deletion of [<i>uT</i>]:	by Agree	by V ⁰ -to-C ⁰ movement
Position of V _{fin} :	V ⁰	C ⁰
<i>Main clause</i> <i>yes/no-questions</i>	<i>Om</i> -questions (Rogaland dialects)	Inverted <i>yes/no</i> -questions (Standard Norwegian)
Features of C ⁰ :	[<i>uQ</i> (+EPP)], [<i>uT</i> (−EPP)]	[<i>uQ</i> (−EPP)], [<i>uT</i> (+EPP)]
Deletion of [<i>uQ</i>]:	by merger of overt <i>om</i>	by merger of covert Q-op
Deletion of [<i>uT</i>]:	by Agree	by V ⁰ -to-C ⁰ movement
Position of V _{fin} :	T ⁰	C ⁰

Table 7.2: Summary of the *Wh*+*nå/då* and *Om*+*då* constructions

	<i>Wh</i> + <i>nå/då</i> -questions	<i>Om</i> + <i>då</i> -questions
Position of V _{fin} :	V ⁰	T ⁰
Biclausal structure?	yes	no
Position of <i>nå/då</i> :	Adjoined to T' (in matrix CP)	Spec-TP

thesis, but see, e.g., Chomsky 2000). I have nothing to say about this issue, and will simply follow P&T and assume that [*uT* (−EPP)] is deleted by Agree or some other covert operation applying after Spell-out.

As long as C⁰ is not filled by the verb (due to the [*uT* (−EPP)] feature on C⁰), this empty C⁰ opens for the possibility of merger of the (possibly covert) complementizer *at* ‘that’ in C⁰, as seen in *om*-questions introduced by *om at* ‘whether that’.

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Appendix A

Below is a list of the Web sites referred to in examples.

- URL 1: <http://webcache.googleusercontent.com/search?q=cache:KK32jrWFpzYJ:www.myspace.com/mollsvine+%22kafforein%22&cd=27&hl=en&ct=clnk&source=www.google.com>
- URL 2: <http://www.biip.no/profile.aspx?user=Jarwis§ion=samtale&id=41429>
- URL 3: http://te-in.facebook.com/group.php?v=feed&story_fbid=70134459519&gid=22063639519&ref=mf
- URL 4: <http://www.bilforumet.no/bilmerker/opel/kadett/174797-opel-kadett-c-1-2-sedan-1977-a.html>
- URL 5: http://www.google.com/url?sa=t&source=web&cd=4&ved=0CDQQIDAD&url=http%3A%2F%2Fwebcache.googleusercontent.com%2Fsearch%3Fq%3Dcache%3Acv3zBQyyHHMJ%3Awww.facebook.com%2Fposted.php%253Fid%253D116554391690834%2526start%253D20%2B%2522ka%2Bfaen%2Bfor%2Bein%2522%2Bs%25C3%25A5%26cd%3D4%26hl%3Den%26ct%3Dclnk%26source%3Dwww.google.com&rct=j&q=%22ka%20faen%20for%20ein%22%20s%25C3%25A5&ei=NFSqTY2QHoP4sga5pLSZBw&usg=AFQjCNEkBJBeSn7j8oKe0cgJd_gePF_7-A&cad=rja
- URL 6: <http://forum.babyverden.no/tm.aspx?m=20628087&mpage=2&key=>

- URL 7: <http://www.rally.no/forum/forum.asp?ThreadID=357>
- URL 8: <http://biip.planb.no/profile.aspx?user=-Christina§ion=samtale&id=84773>
- URL 9: <http://no.netlog.com/FrkAnnica/guestbook>
- URL 10: <http://forum.radiostyrt.no/vb/showthread.php/47221-Handle-hos-DDM/page5>
- URL 11: http://msg7.blogg.no/1292013894_sorry.html
- URL 12: <http://ellisivflack.blogspot.com/2008/11/pick-or-throw.html>
- URL 13: <http://www.catchgamer.no/?module=users&f=guestbook&userId=48193&show=all>
- URL 14: <http://www.myspace.com/kidzick>
- URL 15: http://johannefigved.blogspot.com/2006_03_01_archive.html
- URL 16: <http://www.sfsk.no/Forum/viewtopic.php?f=9&t=344&p=1447&sid=4a0d3cc81c1ac1498a11c06f39c315da>
- URL 17: <http://snakkemunn.blogspot.com/2009/06/kal-oppifraognd-3.html>
- URL 18: <http://www.catchgamer.no/?module=users&f=guestbook&userId=12165&show=all>
- URL 19: http://webcache.googleusercontent.com/search?q=cache:iktmKYqhKxQJ:www.youtube.com/all_comments%3Fv%3D2SuYENafwXk+%22Ka+d%C3%A5+du%22&cd=17&hl=en&ct=clnk&client=iceweasel-a&source=www.google.com
- URL 20: http://turthea.blogg.no/1222467346_nsketenkning.html
- URL 21: <http://forum.babyverden.no/tm.aspx?m=17867415&mpage=4&key=>
- URL 22: <http://www.blogtown.se/blog.php?date=2008-03&id=meten>

- URL 23: <http://webcache.googleusercontent.com/search?q=cache:S4CC080Nk0kJ:www.facebook.com/group.php%3Fgid%3D119156037947%26v%3Dwall%26viewas%3D0+%22Ka+du+grine+itte%3F%22&cd=2&hl=en&ct=clnk&client=iceweasel-a&source=www.google.com>
- URL 24: <http://webcache.googleusercontent.com/search?q=cache:o1kZIQqwiTsJ:www.hip-hop.no/f28/sopranos-sesong-6-part-2-a-13373/index11.html+%22ka+faen+n%C3%A5%22%22&cd=9&hl=en&ct=clnk&client=iceweasel-a&source=www.google.com>
- URL 25: <http://forum.babyverden.no/tm.aspx?m=16574555&mpage=1&key=>
- URL 26: <http://nettispetti.blogspot.com/2010/10/argh.html>
- URL 27: <http://vip.hundemarked.no/gjestebok.asp?id=514&Bg=425>
- URL 28: <http://allroadstofault.blogspot.com/2008/06/kompiser-og-kamp.html>
- URL 29: <http://www.biip.no/profile.aspx?user=MrRoar>
- URL 30: <http://www.biip.no/profile.aspx?user=-MALIN-T§ion=samtale&id=243823>
- URL 31: <http://www.friflyt.no/index.php?pagenr=32&threadnr=225386>
- URL 32: <http://www.klara-klok.no/wips/1227620725/caseId/1314377993>
- URL 33: <http://vip.hestemarked.no/gjestebok.asp?id=11471>
- URL 34: <http://www.klara-klok.no/wips/1886875403/caseId/51279823/>
- URL 35: <http://vip.hundemarked.no/gjestebok.asp?id=21300>
- URL 36: <http://www.biip.no/-MiniStine->

Appendix B

On the next two pages the syntactic acceptability judgments of the interrogative sentences in the NSJD are given. Not all of the sentences are relevant here, but I have included them nevertheless. The judgments from the measuring points Gjesdal, Hjelmeland, and Karmøy are shown on the following page, while the judgments from Sokndal, Stavanger, Suldal and Time are found on page 155.

Measuring point --> Informant no. -->	Gjesdal				Hjelmeland				Karmøy			
	um01	uk02	gm03	gk04	um01	uk02	gm03	gk04	um01	uk02	gm03	gk04
Word order in <i>wh</i>-questions												
Ka du hette?	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	3	1	1	1	1
Kem så selge fiskandstyr her i bygda, då?	4	4	4	4	1	5	1	1	1	1	5	5
Ka ti du gikk ud av ungdomsskolen, då?	4	4	1	4	5	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Kor mange elever så går på denne skolen?	5	5	4	4	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	5
<i>Wh</i>-extraction (incl. <i>*that</i>-trace and resumption)												
Kem tror du at har gjort det?	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Kem tror du at eg ska treffa i måra?	5	5	5	5	1	5	?	1	1	1	1	1
Kem sa du at ikkje hadde kom?	5	5	1	3	1	5	3	5	1	1	1	1
Kem tror du har gjort det?	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5
Kem tror du eg ska treffa i måra?	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5
Kem tror du så har gjort det?	4	4	1	5	5	1	5	3	3	1	5	5
Kem tror du så eg ska treffa i måra?	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Kem tror du at han har gjort det?	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Kem tror du han har gjort det?	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
<i>Yes/no</i>-questions with <i>om</i>												
Om du har vært i Tromsø?	5	5	5	5	1	1	1	5	1	1	5	5
Om du har aldri vært i Tromsø?	3	3	1	1	1	5	1	1	1	1	1	1
More <i>wh</i>-questions												
Koss ska du feira 17. mai i år då?	5	5	5	5	5	1	5	5	5	5	5	5
Koffar han va så sure, egentlig?	3	3	3	5	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Koss bil har du?	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5
Koss bil e din?	1	1	1	1	5	5	5	1	5	5	5	5
My own, additional sentences												
Kor du jobbe her?	5	5	1	1	5	5	5	5	1	1	1	1
Ka NA så skjer?	5	5	1	5	5	1	5	1	1	1	1	1
Om du ALLTID har bodd i Stavanger?	5	5	3	5	1	1	1	5	1	1	4	4
Kem så ringte?	5	5	4	5	5	5	1	1	5	1	5	5

Measuring point --> Informant no. -->	Sokndal				Stavanger				Suldal				Time			
	um01	uk02	gm03	gd04	um01	uk02	gm03	gd04	um01	uk02	gm03	gd04	um01	uk02	gm03	gd04
World order in <i>wh</i>-questions																
Ka du hette?	5	5	1	1	5	3	5	3	1	1	1	1	-	5	5	5
Kem så selge fiskandstyr her i bygdå, då?	1	1	1	1	3	3	5	1	5	5	5	5	-	5	5	5
Ka ti du gikk ud av ungdomsskolen, då?	1	1	1	1	5	5	5	1	1	1	1	1	-	4	5	5
Kor mange elever så går på denne skolen?	1	1	1	1	5	1	5	1	5	5	5	5	-	5	5	5
<i>Wh</i>-extraction (incl. *that-trace and resumption)																
Kem tror du at har gjort det?	1	1	1	1	1	1	-	1	1	1	1	1	-	1	1	1
Kem tror du at eg ska treffa i mårrå?	5	5	1	1	5	5	-	1	1	1	3	3	-	5	5	5
Kem sa du at ikkje hadde komt?	5	5	1	1	1	1	-	5	1	1	1	1	-	5	1	1
Kem tror du har gjort det?	5	5	5	5	5	5	-	5	5	5	5	5	-	5	5	5
Kem tror du eg ska treffa i mårrå?	5	5	5	5	5	5	-	5	5	5	5	5	-	5	5	5
Kem tror du så har gjort det?	1	1	5	5	1	1	-	1	1	1	5	5	-	1	1	1
Kem tror du så eg ska treffa i mårrå?	1	1	2	5	1	1	-	1	1	1	3	3	-	1	1	1
Kem tror du at han har gjort det?	1	1	1	1	1	1	-	1	1	1	1	1	-	1	1	1
Kem tror du han har gjort det?	1	1	1	1	1	1	-	1	1	1	1	1	-	1	1	1
<i>Yes/no</i>-questions with <i>om</i>																
Om du har vært i Tromsø?	5	5	1	1	5	5	5	5	5	5	1	1	-	5	5	5
Om du har aldri vært i Tromsø?	1	1	1	1	5	5	5	1	1	1	1	1	-	5	5	5
More <i>wh</i>-questions																
Koss ska du feira 17. mai i år då?	5	5	5	5	5	5	-	5	1	1	5	5	-	5	5	5
Koffar han va så sure, egentlig?	1	1	1	4	5	5	-	1	1	3	1	1	-	5	1	1
Koss bil har du?	5	5	5	5	5	5	-	5	5	5	5	5	-	5	5	1
Koss bil e din?	1	1	1	1	5	5	-	1	1	1	5	5	-	1	1	1
My own, additional sentences																
Kor du jobbe hen?	3	1	1	5	5	5	5	5	1	1	1	1	-	5	5	5
Ka NA så skjer?	1	1	1	1	5	1	5	5	1	1	1	1	-	5	5	5
Om du ALLTID har bodd i Stavanger?	5	5	1	1	1	1	5	1	1	1	1	1	-	5	5	5
Kem så ringte?	1	1	1	1	5	5	5	5	1	1	5	5	-	5	5	5